Senior Military Officers, Politics, and the Country Estate in Britain, c. 1700-1750



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Magdalen College

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Short Abstract

This thesis investigates how senior military officers (generals and admirals) in the army and navy interacted with and integrated into elite society in late Stuart and early Georgian Britain both during their years of active service and afterwards. A valuable tool with which to analyse these officers is the country estate, the basis of the landed elite's political, economic, social, and cultural power. This thesis therefore explores the acquisition and development of country estates, and officers' political participation in Parliament, at court, and in the political and social life of their localities. This raises and helps to answer important questions about how senior military officers in the first half of the eighteenth century used their country estates, and what social, cultural, and political activities they engaged in. Examining these issues is crucial to understanding the place of senior military officers in Britain during this period, and consequently aspects of elite society more generally.

This thesis brings together multiple historiographical traditions, with architectural and garden history playing important roles alongside social and political approaches. It is therefore a highly interdisciplinary piece of research which draws on many different strands of scholarship. The purpose in this study of the country estate (and other houses and properties where relevant) is therefore to act as a medium through which to discusses wider issues such as estate acquisition and development, material culture, patronage and personal relationships, and senior officers' wider interaction with politics. The latter could take many forms, be that jostling for a peerage, a place at court, membership of the House of Commons or Lords, or cultivating a family interest in a local parliamentary seat.

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Long Abstract

This thesis investigates how senior military officers (generals and admirals) in the army and navy interacted with and integrated into elite society in late Stuart and early Georgian Britain both during their years of active service and afterwards. A valuable tool with which to analyse these officers is the country estate, the basis of the landed elite's political, economic, social, and cultural power. This thesis therefore explores the acquisition and development of country estates, and officers' political participation in Parliament, at court, and in the political and social life of their localities. This raises and helps to answer important questions about how senior military officers in the first half of the eighteenth century used their country estates, and what social, cultural, and political activities they engaged in. Examining these issues is crucial to understanding the place of senior military officers in Britain during this period, and consequently aspects of elite society more generally.

The inspiration for this thesis principally derives from the brief survey of estates acquired by army and navy officers in Geoffrey Holmes's 1982 study of the emerging professions between 1680 and 1730, *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society*. Holmes's discussion of officers' houses sits firmly within the context of the socio-economic status of their owners, and he is largely unconcerned with questions of architecture or design. This thesis goes much further than Holmes by bringing together multiple historiographical traditions, with architectural and garden history playing important roles alongside the sort of social and political approaches seen in Holmes's work. It is therefore a highly interdisciplinary piece of research which draws on many different strands of

scholarship. The purpose in this study of the country estate (and other houses and properties where relevant) is therefore to act as a medium through which to discusses wider issues such as estate acquisition and development, material culture, patronage and personal relationships, and senior officers' wider interaction with politics. The latter could take many forms, be that jostling for a peerage, a place at court, membership of the House of Commons or Lords, or cultivating a family interest in a local parliamentary seat.

The themes analysed in this thesis are explored through case studies, with each chapter broadly (but not mechanically) looking at the same themes through a number of different senior military officers. The first chapter concerns John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough and his great building project of Blenheim in Woodstock, Oxfordshire as well as the estates and fortunes of his (often Irish) protégés. These include his Quartermaster-General William Cadogan, 1st Earl Cadogan who acquired and developed a country estate at Caversham near Reading, as well as other favourites of the Duke in the army such as Francis Palmes and Thomas Meredyth. The chapter ends with a section on Meredyth and Cadogan's former aide-de-camp and Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower of London, Adam Williamson, whose summer retreat at Wokingham is recorded in an engraving, to provide a spectrum of officers' estates from colossal palace to large gentleman's house. The Duke and Duchess of Marlborough are well-researched figures and a wealth of secondary literature complements the archival and printed material concerning them. This chapter therefore first explores the unique and complex nature of Blenheim and the critical response such a major project for a prominent public figure like Marlborough generated. It then focuses on Marlborough's favourites (and, in turn, one of their favourites), their relationship with the Captain-General, and how in his shadow they settled into elite landed life through political activity and estate building.

The second chapter looks at arguably the most renowned country house landscape of the period – Stowe in Buckinghamshire, the ancestral estate of Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham, a senior army officer who fell out with Sir Robert Walpole in the 1730s and became a leading opposition figure. Whilst of course acknowledging Stowe's traditional importance in the historiography of the anti-Walpole 'Patriot' opposition, this chapter treads new ground in looking at military influences in the landscape, the figure of Cobham himself (a challenging task due to the dearth of his correspondence), and his friends and military colleagues who visited Stowe such as the army officer Charles Cathcart (later 8th Lord Cathcart) who left a lengthy account of his visit. By drawing on other military officers' estates such as Joseph Sabine's house at Tewin in Hertfordshire, this chapter also details how Cobham's unique and highly politicised creation can usefully be situated within the broader context of other officers' estates in this period through examining its participation in the shared country house tradition of hosting royalty. Much of this analysis draws from the copious amount of descriptions and verse concerning Stowe, which helps to incorporate a wide range of different viewpoints.

The third chapter examines James Stanhope, 1st Earl Stanhope, soldier and later one of George I's most important ministers, and his purchase of Chevening in Kent in 1717. Although Stanhope's sudden death a mere four years later prevented him from spending much time at his new country estate, the Stanhope papers at the Kent archives provide a wealth of material that allows the exploration of several important themes. These include the process of acquiring an estate, the idea of Chevening as a dynastic statement (as opposed to somewhere like Cadogan's Caversham), matters of architectural and political patronage, and the role of family and professional networks in the building process. One of the most important of these networks was the wealthy Pitt family who Stanhope was related to by marriage. Whilst Stanhope of course plays a central role in this chapter, it also therefore encompasses an array of relatives and other army officers (two overlapping

categories) who played vital roles in the development of the estate during Stanhope's life and after his death.

The fourth chapter discusses the soldier-diplomat Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford and explores themes such as his grasping for a peerage (which involved the soliciting of Marlborough and useful conduits such as Cadogan), his estate acquisition and development, and his attitude towards and interaction with the Hanoverians. This was a deeply complex relationship following the Whig government's attempt to impeach him in 1715. As this chapter shows, labelling Strafford as a Jacobite post-1714 is simplistic and misleading, and there are particularly intriguing links between him and George II's queen Caroline. Much recent work on Strafford has largely focused on his ministerial career before the Hanoverian Succession. This chapter tracks his aspirations and self-fashioning both before 1714 as well as the equally revealing decades afterwards. This allows for an analysis of, for instance, Strafford's advice on estate management transmitted to his son in the 1730s. At the heart of all this was Strafford's main Yorkshire seat, Wentworth Castle, whose iconography has been subject to much art historical study but which this chapter adds to the understanding of.

The fifth chapter focuses on three senior Scottish army officers: John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll and 1st Duke of Greenwich, George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney, and John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair. During the War of Spanish Succession, a unified British state came into being with the 1707 Act of Union. This chapter thus explores these Scottish officers' relationship with the new 'British elite' by examining issues such as their pursuit of British peerages and their relationship with Scotland. For example, whereas Stair spent much of his time at his ancestral Scottish estates, Orkney (a younger brother of the Duke of Hamilton) built a life in the south of England. As head of arguably the most important landed interest in Scotland, Argyll dwarfed both in terms of wealth and resources, although all three

took an active interest in country house and garden building, and estate development. Although there are Scottish peculiarities to their narrative, the overall theme is of integration into elite British society, rather than exclusion.

Finally, the sixth chapter concerns a relatively sizeable sample of senior navy officers in this period by way of comparison such as Sir George Rooke, Sir John Leake, Edward Russell, 1st Earl of Orford, and George Byng, 1st Viscount Torrington. This chapter consequently discusses the same themes as the previous chapters which focused on senior army officers. These include estate acquisition and development as well as matters of politics and patronage such as the quest for peerages and factionalism in the navy. It concludes that despite their professions' differences, it is striking to what extent senior navy officers engaged with the same sort of socio-political issues and activities as their army counterparts (although if they sought to obtain high office their prospects were perhaps narrower). Past scholarship has often focused on either the army or the navy but not both. Thus, by including senior officers from both sides of the military profession, a more historiographically original and well-rounded thesis has been produced as a result.

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Table of Contents

Short Abstract	*page* i
Long Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	vii
Abbreviations	ix
List of Figures	x
Introduction	1
Chapter One – Blenheim and Beyond: The Duke of Marlborough and his Favourites	30
Chapter Two – New Perspectives on Viscount Cobham and Stowe: Its Influences and Context Within Military Officers' Estates	86
Chapter Three – The Network of Earl Stanhope: Family, Friends, Colleagues, and the Chevening Estate	123
Chapter Four – The Earl of Strafford and his Estates: Aspiration and Self-Fashioning During Political Highs and Lows	164
Chapter Five – A Scottish Perspective: The Duke of Argyll and the Earls of Orkney and Stair	204
Chapter Six – A Comparative Perspective: Senior Navy Officers, Politics, and the Country Estate	249
Conclusion	291
Bibliography	295

Abbreviations

BARS	Bedfordshire Archives and Records Service, Bedford.
BHO	British History Online.
BL	British Library, London.
Bodl.	Bodleian Libraries, Oxford.
BRO	Berkshire Record Office, Reading.
HoC 1690-1715	*The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1690-1715*.
HoC 1715-1754	*The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1715-1754*.
HoL 1660-1715	*The History of Parliament: The House of Lords 1660-1715*.
KHLC	Kent History and Library Centre, Maidstone.
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
NRS	National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh.
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
TNA	The National Archives, Kew.

List of Figures

Figure 1.1	Michael Dahl (attrib.), *John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough*, c. 1702. © National Army Museum, London.
Figure 1.2	Sir Godfrey Kneller, *John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough*, c. 1706. © National Portrait Gallery, London.
Figure 1.3	Colen Campbell, *The Generall Front of Blenheim Castle is most humbly Inscrib'd to his Grace John Duke of Marlborough*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), i., pl. 57-58.
Figure 1.4	James Lightbody, *The South-West Prospect of his Grace ye Duke of Marlboroughs House in St James Park*, in *Nouveau Theatre de la Grande Bretagne* (4 vols., London, 1724), iv., pl. 25.
Figure 1.5	A detail from Henry Wise, *Four plans of the garden and park layout of Blenheim Palace drawn by Henry Wise, Superintendent of gardens to Queen Anne*, c. 1709, Bodl., MS. Top. Oxon. a. 50 (R), fol. 2.
Figure 1.6	Colen Campbell, *The Elevation of Blenheim Castle towards the Gardens. Is most humbly Inscrib'd to his Grace John Duke of Marlborough*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), i., pl. 59-60.
Figure 1.7	Unknown artist, *William Cadogan, 1st Baron (later Earl) Cadogan*, c. 1716. © National Portrait Gallery, London.
Figure 1.8	Pieter van Bloemen, *John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough and William Cadogan (later 1st Earl Cadogan) at Blenheim*, 1714. © Government Art Collection, London.
Figure 1.9	Garrett Morphey, *Thomas Meredyth*, c. 1702. © Mallett Gallery, London.
Figure 1.10	Unknown artist, *Francis Palmes*, early 18th century. © Gorringe's, Lewes.
Figure 1.11	Colen Campbell, *The Elevation of a New Design of my Invention in the Palatial Stile, is most humbly Inscrib'd to the Rt Honble the Lord Cadogan*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), ii., pl. 99-100.
Figure 1.12	Colen Campbell, *Plan of the Park, Gardens and Plantations of Caversham in Oxfordshire The Seat of the Right Honourable the Earl of Cadogan &c*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), iii., pl. 96-97.
Figure 1.13	A detail from unknown draughtsman, *A View of Woodstock Park and the Palace of Blenhiem*, c. 1710, Bodl., MS. Gough Maps 26 (Gough Collection), fol. 50B.

Figure 1.14	G. Williamson, *The Seat of the Honble Collonel Williamson in Oakingham Berks*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth* (London, 1739), pl. 92-93.
Figure 2.1	Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Sir Richard Temple, 4th Baronet (later 1st Viscount Cobham)*, c. 1713. © National Portrait Gallery, London.
Figure 2.2	After Jean-Baptiste van Loo, *Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham*, c. 1740. © National Portrait Gallery, London.
Figure 2.3	A detail from unknown draughtsman, *A General Plan of the Woods, Park and Gardens of Stowe the Seat of the Right Honourable The Lord Viscount Cobham… Dedicated to his Lordship by his most humble and obedient Servant Sarah Bridgeman*, 1739, pl. 1. © Trustees of the British Museum, London.
Figure 2.4	Jacques Rigaud, *View of the Perterre from the Portico of the House*, mid-1730s, pl. 16. © Royal Collection Trust, London.
Figure 2.5	A detail from Charles Bridgeman (attrib.), *Bird's-eye view of Stowe*, c. 1720, Bodl., MS. Gough Drawings, a. 4, fol. 46.
Figure 2.6	Jacques Rigaud, *View of the House from the Equestrian Statue*, mid-1730s, pl. 6. © Royal Collection Trust, London.
Figure 2.7	Jacques Rigaud, *View of the Queen's Theatre from the Rotunda*, mid-1730s, pl. 8. © Royal Collection Trust, London.
Figure 2.8	George Bickham the Younger, *To the Honourable Augustus Schutz Esqr This Plate of Shotover House & Garden Is humbly inscribed by Geo. Bickham*, 1750. © Trustees of the British Museum, London.
Figure 2.9	Jonathan Richardson the Elder (attrib.), *Charles Cathcart, 8th Lord Cathcart*, c. 1735. © The Royal Scots Dragoon Guards Museum, Edinburgh.
Figure 2.10	Jacques Rigaud, *View at the Lesser Obelisk*, mid-1730s, pl. 13. © Royal Collection Trust, London.
Figure 2.11	Thomas Ady, *John Fane, 7th Earl of Westmorland*, 1742. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
Figure 2.12	John Faber Jr after Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Joseph Sabine*, 1742. © National Portrait Gallery, London.
Figure 3.1	Sir Godfrey Kneller, *James Stanhope (later 1st Earl Stanhope)*, c. 1710. © National Portrait Gallery, London.
Figure 3.2	Johan van Diest (attrib.), *James Stanhope, 1st Earl Stanhope*, c. 1718. © National Portrait Gallery, London.
Figure 3.3	Thomas Badeslade, *Chevening the Seat of the R^{t} Honble James Stanhope Earl Stanhope*, in *The History of Kent* (London, 1719), inserted after p. 74.

Figure 3.4 After Enoch Seeman, *John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough and John Armstrong*, c. 1720? © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Figure 3.5 A detail from unknown draughtsman, *Estate survey of Chevening*, c. 1720, in *Chevening: A Seat of Diplomacy* (London, 2017), fig. 83.

Figure 3.6 A detail from Mitchel, *Chevening Garden*, 1747, KHLC, U1590/P1.

Figure 3.7 Colen Campbell, *The Elevation of Chevening house in Kent the Seat of the Rt Honble the late Earl of Sussex, is most humbly Inscrib'd to the Rt Honble the Countess Dowager of Sussex*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), ii., pl. 85.

Figure 3.8 Colen Campbell, *This new Design of my Invention is most humbly Inscrib'd to the Rt Honble James Stanhope Esqr*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), ii., pl. 86.

Figure 4.1 Paul Carl Leygebe, *Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford*, 1711. © Government Art Collection, London.

Figure 4.2 Charles d'Agar, *Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford*, c. 1712. © Parliamentary Art Collection, London.

Figure 4.3 Colen Campbell, *The Elevation of Stainborough in Yorkshire the Seat of the Rt Honble The Earl of Strafford… to whom this Plate is most humbly Inscribed*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), i., pl. 93-94.

Figure 4.4 Thomas Badeslade, *A Prospect of Stainborough and Wentworth Castle in the County of York, one of the Seats of the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Strafford*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth* (London, 1739), pl. 55-56.

Figure 4.5 Thomas Badeslade, *Boughton within two Miles of Northampton; one of the Seats of the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Strafford*, in *Britannia Illustrata* (London, 1740), pl. 12/82.

Figure 5.1 William Aikman, *John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll and 1st Earl (later Duke) of Greenwich*, c. 1709. © Royal Collection Trust, London.

Figure 5.2 Thomas Bardwell, *John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll and 1st Duke of Greenwich*, 1740. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Figure 5.3 Martin Maingaud, *George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney*, 1724. © Government Art Collection, London.

Figure 5.4 School of Sir Godfrey Kneller, *John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair*, c. 1710? © Government Art Collection, London.

Figure 5.5 Francis Grose, *Castle Kenedy*, in *The Antiquities of Scotland* (2 vols., London, 1789-1791), ii., inserted after p. 190.

Figure 5.6 William Adam, *The General Front of a new design for the Rt Honble The Earl of Stair intended at Newliston being one of the Seats of his*

Lordship in the County of West-Lothian, c. 1725-1735, in *Vitruvius Scoticus* (Edinburgh, 1980), pl. 36.

Figure 5.7 Colen Campbell, *The North Prospect of Cliefden house in Buckinghamshire the Seat of the Right Honble The Earl of Orkney… to whom this Plate is most humbly Inscrib'd*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), ii., pl. 71-72.

Figure 5.8 John Michael Rysbrack, *George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney*, c. 1733. © Sotheby's, New York.

Figure 5.9 Sir John Vanbrugh, *D. of Argyles at Inverary*, c. 1720, in *Architectural Drawings in the Library of Elton Hall* (Oxford, 1964), pl. 36b.

Figure 5.10 Allan Ramsay, *John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair*, c. 1744. © National Trust for Scotland, Edinburgh.

Figure 6.1 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Edward Russell, 1st Earl of Orford*, c. 1710. © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Figure 6.2 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Sir George Byng (later 1st Viscount Torrington)*, 1707-1709. © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Figure 6.3 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Sir John Norris*, 1711. © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Figure 6.4 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Sir Charles Wager*, 1710. © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Figure 6.5 Michael Dahl, *Sir John Leake*, c. 1710. © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Figure 6.6 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Sir John Jennings*, 1708-1709. © National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Figure 6.7 Michael Dahl, *Sir George Rooke*, c. 1706. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Figure 6.8 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *James Berkeley, 3rd Earl of Berkeley*, c. 1710. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Figure 6.9 Thomas Badeslade, *To the R^{t} Honble George Viscount Torrington… This South Prospect of Southill in the County of Bedford the Seat of his Lordship, is most humbly Inscrib'd*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth* (London, 1739), pl. 84-85.

Figure 6.10 Georg Dionysius Ehret, *Bull Bay*, 1743. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figure 6.11 Unknown craftsman, *Admiral Russell's Frame*, 1693-1697. © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Figure 7.1 William Greatbach after William Salter, *The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House, 18 June 1836*, 1846. © Government Art Collection, London.

Introduction

In 1728 the playwright and poet William Congreve addressed his friend and 'Sincerest Critick', the middle-aged senior army officer Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham of Stowe in Buckinghamshire, in what transpired to be his last poem. The poet wished to know 'how thy pleasing STOWE employs thy Time,' and wondered whether Cobham was reflecting on his old battles, bemoaning the current state of foreign affairs, improving the gardens at Stowe with new water features, or neglecting his grand projects and simply enjoying his bucolic surroundings. Certainly, the meditative Congreve was 'retir'd without Regret' and recommended a relaxed pace of life. However, unlike the poet who died the following year, much of Cobham's political importance and development of Stowe was yet to come in the following two decades.[1]

Senior military officers in the first half of the eighteenth century engaged in a combination of the activities outlined by Congreve, and many made important contributions to British political life. This thesis investigates how senior officers (generals and admirals) in the army and navy interacted with and integrated into elite society in late Stuart and early Georgian Britain both during their years of active service and afterwards. A valuable tool with which to analyse these officers is the country estate, the basis of the landed elite's political, economic, social, and cultural power. This thesis therefore explores the acquisition and development of country estates, and officers' political participation in Parliament, at court, and in the political and social life of their localities. This raises and helps to answer important questions about how senior military officers in the first half of the eighteenth century used their country estates, and what social, cultural, and political activities they engaged in. Examining these issues is crucial to understanding the place of senior military

[1] William Congreve, *A Letter from Mr. Congreve to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham* (London, 1729) pp. 3-6; *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe 1700-1750*, ed. George B. Clarke (Aylesbury, 1990), pp. 24-27.

officers in Britain during this period, and consequently aspects of elite society more generally.

The inspiration for this thesis principally derives from the brief survey of estates acquired by army and navy officers in Geoffrey Holmes's 1982 study of the emerging professions between 1680 and 1730, *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society*.[2] Holmes's discussion of officers' houses sits firmly within the context of the socio-economic status of their owners, and he is largely unconcerned with questions of architecture or design. This thesis goes much further than Holmes by bringing together multiple historiographical traditions, with architectural and garden history playing important roles alongside the sort of social and political approaches seen in Holmes's work. It is therefore a highly interdisciplinary piece of research which draws on many different strands of scholarship. The purpose in this study of the country estate (and other houses and properties where relevant) is therefore to act as a medium through which to discusses wider issues such as estate acquisition and development, material culture, patronage and personal relationships, and senior officers' wider interaction with politics. The latter could take many forms, be that jostling for a peerage, a place at court, membership of the House of Commons or Lords, or cultivating a family interest in a local parliamentary seat.

The exploration of these themes through a series of case studies allows for a detailed picture to emerge of how the senior military officers examined in this thesis interacted with and integrated into elite society in Britain from c. 1700 to 1750. This research consequently contributes to the understanding of issues such as how military officers viewed the estates they acquired and the reception of these estates by others, as well as how these country houses and gardens commemorated the careers of their owners.

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[2] Geoffrey Holmes, *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680-1730* (London, 1982), pp. 271-273, 284-285.

It also shows how exactly the process of interaction and integration operated (such as the families officers married into), and officers' political and dynastic ambitions. Additionally, it demonstrates how these processes played out amongst certain subgroups such as navy officers and Scottish army officers. These are complex issues, and it is evident that brief surveys like Holmes's do not do justice to this topic. A doctoral research project on senior army and navy officers has therefore been needed for a long time to explore these themes in depth and reveal nuances not just about the senior officers under discussion, but the wider political and social elite of late Stuart and early Georgian Britain.

This introduction is split into five principal parts. The first section surveys the historiography of country houses and gardens as well as that of the landed elite and their estates. It goes on to explore the relationship between military careers and country estate design and argues that the idea of a stylistic subgenre characterising the 'military country estate' is of limited use. The second section considers the rising fortunes of military officers and the political anxiety this caused, overlapping and interconnected with criticisms of the standing army. It qualifies this discussion by pointing out that some senior officers either came from landed stock or had other careers which muddles their status as purely military officers. The third section highlights the importance of London in the lives of senior military officers and ties this into a discussion of politeness. Using recent historiography concerning the relationship between politeness and the military, it considers how 'polite' senior military officers were and how useful a concept it is with respect to military officers. The fourth section focuses on military historiography and suggests Rory Rapple's study of Elizabethan soldiers provides a constructive parallel with which to conceptualise this thesis's case studies both as individuals as well as a generation. Finally, the fifth section sets out this thesis's parameters, its sources, and the chapter structure.

I.

The period under study in this thesis has long been recognised as one of country house building. Back in 1959, Sir John Summerson identified around 150 large houses built between 1710 and 1740,[3] and in a subsequent piece of research Charles Saumarez Smith identified 389 new country houses built between 1660 and 1760.[4] New or remodelled country houses standing in the centre of sprawling estates were prominent symbols of authority and prestige, and it is therefore important to consider what sort of houses senior military officers commissioned. This must not mean becoming overwhelmed with questions of style and aesthetics at the expense of context or purpose. As William Whyte has noted in his recent research on Victorian churches, too many architectural historians have been so preoccupied with the 'formal qualities' of buildings 'that they fail to think about their function or their effect: they have studied *style* instead of *experience*.' This has resulted in the neglect of important historical questions and contributed to architectural history being trapped 'in its own academic cul-de-sac, seemingly unable to communicate to those outside it'.[5]

Fortunately, whilst some of Whyte's criticisms remain perfectly valid, the study of country houses has come a long way since the days of isolated snapshot studies in *Country Life* magazine by talented if now antiquated writers such as Henry Avray Tipping. Whilst stylistic trends have continued to intrigue architectural historians such as Giles Worsley in his revisionist study arguing for the pervasive influence of Palladianism in seventeenth and

[3] John Summerson, *The Unromantic Castle and Other Essays* (London, 1990), p. 82.
[4] Charles Saumarez Smith, 'Supply and Demand in English Country House Building 1660-1740', *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1988), p. 4. Although his analysis is confined to 1660-1740, Saumarez Smith presents data for the period 1660-1760.
[5] William Whyte, *Unlocking the Church: The Lost Secrets of Victorian Sacred Space* (Oxford, 2017), p. 23. Also see William Whyte, 'How Do Buildings Mean? Some Issues of Interpretation in the History of Architecture', *History and Theory*, vol. 45, no. 2 (May 2006), pp. 153-177.

eighteenth-century Britain,[6] country house studies now pay a lot more attention to broader social, political, and cultural context. A trailblazer for this approach was Mark Girouard's *Life in the English Country House* published in 1978.[7] Girouard's broad study examined country houses from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century, but what made it revolutionary was the way it thought about what country houses were for and how they were used. For instance, Girouard argues that 'Although to some extent architecture follows its own rules it is also conditioned by the society for which it caters. The architects and builders of country houses were not producing pieces of abstract sculpture, but buildings designed to fit a particular way of life.'[8]

This is a contextual approach which has proved equally applicable to studies of individual estates such as Charles Saumarez Smith's research on the construction of Castle Howard in Yorkshire.[9] For example, Saumarez Smith devotes a chapter to the project's patron, the politician Charles Howard, 3rd Earl of Carlisle, and explores his dynastic motivations and political ambitions within the context of contemporary aristocratic country house building and taste.[10] In addition to this social and political analysis, Saumarez Smith also examines important economic questions about how the process of building worked by trying to estimate Carlisle's annual income and the cost of construction.[11] This interest in how the construction and running of estates actually worked is also reflected in research such as D. R. Hainsworth's analysis of the many and varied roles of the estate steward in the

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[6] Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven and London, 1995). The classic text of British architectural history in the early-modern period is John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, 9th edn. (New Haven and London, 1993).

[7] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 1978). More recent examples include *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, ed. Dana Arnold (Stroud, 1998); Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London and New York, 2000).

[8] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 12.

[9] Charles Saumarez Smith, *The Building of Castle Howard* (London, 1990).

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-32.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-88. For a broader analysis of the costs and financing of country house building, see Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, pp. 233-351.

period c. 1660-1714.[12] Country house studies have also been used to investigate specific influences and relationships such as Stephanie Barczewski's book on the impact of the British empire on the country house during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth-centuries.[13] Building on the work of Holger Hoock, who has emphasised the importance of imperial influences on British artistic production,[14] Barczewski argues in her wide-ranging survey that 'As conduits through which imperial funds and cultural influences flowed, country houses were imperial spaces.'[15]

Garden history has arguably been slower to develop as a scholarly discipline than architectural history (although the division between the two can be rather artificial). However, much modern garden history has shown more of an effort to engage with historical context than the older stylistic studies of the mid-twentieth century such as Christopher Hussey's 1967 *English Gardens and Landscapes*.[16] For example, Tom Williamson has attempted to integrate broader historical themes into his history of eighteenth-century landscapes by using ideas of 'politeness'. He notes, for instance, that whilst in the second half of the century 'the park was a private landscape, designed to exclude the poor… at the same time it was a public one for the entertainment of the polite, and access to the largest parks was often open to all who appeared respectable.'[17] Similarly, other garden historians have used gardens and landscapes as mediums with which to explore developments in other fields. For example, and particularly pertinent to this thesis, Robert Williams has shown how

[12] D. R. Hainsworth, *Stewards, Lords and People: The Estate Steward and his World in Later Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1992).
[13] Stephanie Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700-1930* (Manchester, 2014).
[14] Holger Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* (London, 2010).
[15] Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire*, p. 12.
[16] Christopher Hussey, *English Gardens and Landscapes 1700-1750* (London, 1967).
[17] Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stroud, 1995), p. 111.

early eighteenth-century gardens were influenced by military developments and technology, looking at the use of fortified features such as bastions in gardens.[18]

Beyond architectural analysis of their houses and gardens, the study of the landed elite and their estates has been subject to much scrutiny in the past few decades. James Rosenheim emphasises the importance of the landed interest in his study of the English elite from the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries, concentrating on the increasingly 'homogenous and hence more hegemonic landed class' of nobility and gentry who self-consciously set themselves apart from the rest of the society which they ruled over.[19] Rosenheim's paradigm is of particular use to this thesis where the senior military officers discussed either hailed from (often aristocratic) landed families or became, sometimes substantial, landowners as well as important political figures. Another significant historiographical contribution to the study of the landed elite is Sir John Habakkuk's magisterial *Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System*. Analysing the period from 1650 to 1950, Habakkuk discusses pertinent themes such as the motivations behind the purchasing of land by new men. This was a combination of reasons the most dominant of which for the majority 'was the desire to acquire social prestige and enter the ruling élite,' although there were also other overlapping factors at play including provision for the family, the value of land as a secure form of economic investment, and as a provider of rural amenities such as hunting.[20]

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[18] Robert Williams, 'Fortified Gardens', in Christopher Ridgway and Robert Williams (eds.), *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England, 1690-1730* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 49-70. Also see Timur Tatlioglu, 'Destruction, Identity, and Dynasty: The Role of Martial Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Designed Landscapes', in Lila Rakoczy (ed.), *Archaeology of Destruction* (Newcastle, 2008), pp. 69-89.

[19] James M. Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society 1650-1750* (Harlow, 1998), pp. 1-3. For an older study, see G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963).

[20] John Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System: English Landownership, 1650-1950* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 403-413. For motivations for purchase amongst established landowners, see pp. 479-493.

Habakkuk proceeds to survey the different types of new men purchasing estates including, albeit briefly, army and navy officers.[21]

This literature is of great use when considering what purpose country estates held for senior military officers. For example, when examining the English landed elite's chief concerns at their country houses, Rosenheim argues that the later seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries saw a shift in emphasis in what the country house stood for: 'Now the statement spoke more to the owner's taste than to his power, expressed his and his family's character through quality more than quantity, through possessions rather than the amplitude of the house… or the household itself.' Although it can be contended that this shift from 'power' to 'taste' actually evidences the rise of a different type of cultural power, Rosenheim is correct to highlight the growing importance and organisation of country house collections. Owners' travels around Europe were evidenced back home through the display of the various artworks, books, and other objects they had accumulated during their Grand Tour. A key purpose of this display was to impress and win the approval of other members of the elite, thereby affirming the 'cultural legitimacy' of the owner.[22]

Many of the senior military officers discussed in this thesis similarly decorated their estates with fashionable European art and sculpture, motivated in part by a desire to fit in and take their place in the cultural hegemony of landed society. Rather than pleasurable tours, their first-hand knowledge and experiences of Europe usually came from gritty military campaigns, although this did not prevent them from taking the opportunity to acquire new art and possessions. Furthermore, military men often used art and ornamentation to commemorate their careers at their estates. For example, this could be achieved with paintings and tapestries depicting military scenes, or a symbolic piece of

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 459-462. Also see Mingay, *English Landed Society*, p. 73.
[22] Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order*, pp. 93-94. Rosenheim also sees country estates as places of cultural separation from the non-landowning classes, see pp. 186-193.

sculpture. Overall however, this is more a story of integration and whilst a house such as Captain-General John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough's Blenheim Palace was replete with martial imagery, most officers' estates were not 'militarised' to this extent (if at all) and do not form a noteworthy stylistic subgenre of country house in this period.

In this sense, these are just country estates belonging to military officers, whereas the idea of a distinct 'military country estate' is of less use. For example, whilst some officers did use elements such as mock fortifications in their gardens, these featured in the landscapes of civilian landowners as well.[23] Furthermore, there is little evidence to suggest that the senior army and navy officers discussed in this thesis engaged in overtly militaristic entertainments on their estates. Certainly, there was nothing to rival epic royal events such as the mock siege of Maastricht staged at Windsor Castle in 1674 or the mock naval battle between 'English' and 'Spanish' forces played out under the auspices of Frederick, Prince of Wales at Cliveden in 1739.[24] These senior officers were not therefore real-life versions of Uncle Toby from Laurence Sterne's comic novel, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759-1767). Tristram Shandy's soldier uncle, the retired Nine Years' War veteran Captain Toby Shandy, and his servant Corporal Trim are described throughout the novel as building model fortifications in the garden of Toby's house near Shandy Hall and engaging in mock battles. During the War of Spanish Succession in Queen Anne's reign, Uncle Toby avidly read newspaper reports of the latest developments in the Low Countries so that he 'with the *Gazette* in his hand,' and Trim 'with a spade on his shoulder to execute the

[23] For example, there were extensive mock-fortifications built in the early eighteenth-century at the civilian 3rd Earl of Carlisle's Castle Howard and the 1st Duke of Ancaster's (whose military career was negligible) Grimsthorpe Castle, see Williams, 'Fortified Gardens', pp. 53, 57-59, figs. 32-33.
[24] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer (6 vols., Oxford, 1955), iv., p. 42; Peter Willis, 'William Kent's Letters in the Huntingdon Library, California', *Architectural History*, vol. 29 (1986), p. 164.

contents', could update their model accordingly as Marlborough lay siege to the enemy's fortifications on the Continent.[25]

II.

Although it is therefore difficult to identify a stylistic subgenre of 'military country estates', country estates belonging to military officers were very much real and their growth caused great unease to contemporaries and continue to interest modern scholars who have examined changes in the social composition of the elite. Laurence Stone controversially argued that there was a distinct lack of openness and social mobility in his and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone's study of the English elite which measured openness using country house ownership in three counties over the course of several centuries. However, even a sceptic such as he maintained that from the end of the seventeenth century the army and navy during wartime were amongst the 'principal means of acquiring great wealth leading to swift upward mobility' alongside other avenues such as the law and overseas trade. Whereas the number of civilian office-holders acquiring country seats seems to have declined after 1640 (due to factors such as the Crown having largely finished distributing confiscated Church lands), this drop-off 'was in some small part compensated for by the rise of admirals and generals. War had brought small pickings to senior officers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries… and it was only the wars of Louis XIV which again made the fortune of well-placed admirals and generals.'[26] With what is statistically speaking a relatively small sample, this thesis does not aim to answer whether Britain's elite ranks were open to newcomers in

[25] Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, eds. Melvyn New, Joan New, Richard A. Davies, and W. G. Day (3 vols., Gainesville, 1978-1984), ii., p. 537. Toby's garden fortifications are depicted in an illustration published in 1773, see 'The Siege of Namur by Captn. Shandy & Corporal Trim'. Accessed 22 January 2018 at https://www.loc.gov/item/91727462, and in the film-within-a-film *A Cock and Bull Story* (2005).

[26] Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1800* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 197-199, table 6.2.

the same vein as the Stones' work or other research in this field such as John Cannon's work on the peerage and Ellis Wasson's book on parliamentary families.[27]

Whatever the exact numbers of officers experiencing upward mobility, it is notable that the rising status and wealth of army officers (as well as financiers) was something observed with alarm by many tax-paying country gentlemen in the early eighteenth-century. As Jonathan Swift observed in the Tory periodical *The Examiner* in November 1710, most individuals 'who make a Figure' in London were 'a Species of Men quite different from any that were ever known before the Revolution, consisting either of Generals and Colonels, or of such whose whole Fortunes lie in Funds and Stocks: So that *Power*, which according to the old Maxim, was us'd to follow *Land*, is now gone over to *Money*'.[28] As Paul Langford argues, the new forms of property identified by writers like Swift were 'portrayed as an illegitimate, counterfeit pretender to the title and authority properly enjoyed only by land.'[29] It appears that apprehension was largely confined to newly enriched army officers rather than officers of the navy. This is unsurprising considering many country gentlemen were deeply anxious over the size of the standing army, whereas the 'wooden walls' of the navy securing Britain's coastline attracted less controversy.[30]

Concern about permanent standing armies was not a new development in Queen Anne's reign. Ever since they had become a contested fact of life in the mid-seventeenth century they had proven controversial – particularly in the late 1690s following the end of the Nine Years' War when William III attempted to maintain a large peacetime army. Whilst the standing army's defenders argued that such an institution was required in an era of

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[27] John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 1-33; Ellis Wasson, *Born to Rule: British Political Elites* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 65-92.
[28] *The Examiner*, vol. 1, issue 14 (2 November 1710); Holmes, *Augustan England*, pp. 262-264; Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain 1660-1722* (London, 1993), pp. 287-291.
[29] Paul Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 58-59.
[30] Holmes, *Augustan England*, p. 274; Hannah Smith, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 105.

increasingly complex warfare, its critics warned that it would become a tyrannical state instrument and threaten Englishmen's cherished rights and liberties.[31] The continual fretting of Tories and Country Whigs over the supposed subversion of the constitution by newly enriched military men and financiers eventually led to the 1711 Landed Qualifications Act which regulated entry into Parliament by requiring knights of the shire to possess landed income of £600 per year and burgesses of £300 per year (with certain exceptions), although J. V. Beckett argues it was largely unenforceable.[32]

Ultimately however, whilst a new 'monied interest' based around transient stocks and shares might have worried some contemporaries, the senior military officers discussed in this thesis also invested their money in the more traditional resource of land. Even an officer such as Marlborough's trusted Quartermaster-General William Cadogan (later 1st Earl Cadogan), whose fortune-building during the War of Spanish Succession was exactly the sort of thing which disturbed country gentlemen, quickly sunk some of his gains into land as well as bank shares. The Duke and Duchess of Marlborough were also avid purchasers of estates.[33] Furthermore, as Geoffrey Holmes has argued, in the long term early eighteenth-century anxieties over the importance of land versus the new 'monied interest' faded away. Whatever other problems it caused, the bursting of the South Sea economic bubble in 1720 took the sheen off new finance and increased the attractiveness of land, the price of which rose markedly in the 1720s, as a long-term investment. The 'monied interest' did not vanish,

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[31] Lois G. Schwoerer, *'No Standing Armies!': The Antiarmy Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Baltimore and London, 1974), pp. 155-187; Shawn Humphrey and Bradley A. Hansen, 'Constraining the State's Ability to Employ Force: The Standing Army Debates, 1697-99', *Journal of Institutional Economics*, vol. 6, issue 2 (June 2010), pp. 243-259; Hannah Smith, 'Politics, Patriotism, and Gender: The Standing Army Debate on the English Stage, circa 1689–1720', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 50, issue 1 (January 2011), pp. 48-75.

[32] J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 423-428.

[33] Godfrey Davies, 'The Seamy Side of Marlborough's War', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 1 (November 1951), p. 31; John Habakkuk, 'Presidential Address: The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600-1800: II', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 30 (1980), p. 218; Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power*, p. 283.

on the contrary, but by the 1730s its members were integrating into elite propertied society with little controversy thanks to shared cultural values.[34]

It is also vital to set out some caveats. Even if they enriched themselves and purchased more land later, military officers could, of course, come from landed backgrounds to start with. For example, Lord Cobham did not purchase the Stowe estate whose gardens became so famous in the eighteenth century, but rather inherited it (along with a baronetcy) from his father. Equally, labelling individuals as military officers risks obscuring the fact that some of the senior officers discussed in this thesis are just as known, or in some cases even more so, for their service in other fields. Examples include Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford and James Stanhope, 1st Earl Stanhope. Strafford was colonel of the Royal Regiment of Dragoons but also acted as a diplomat in Berlin and the Low Countries during Anne's reign, and Stanhope was commander-in-chief in Spain 1708-1710, but is also known for his subsequent ministerial career under George I. Of course, it was not unusual for senior military officers to have other interests. As Ian Roy argues of eighteenth-century men who hailed from great landed families and served as generals, their 'possession of the King's commission was only part of their wider role as leading members of the political nation; their many other responsibilities competed with army service for their attention.'[35] This situation is further complicated by the complex and long-standing historical relationship between the military and the peerage. As the introductory survey to *The History of Parliament: The House of Lords 1660-1715* points out, 'With its origins as a military aristocracy, the peerage contained more than its fair share of members willing to undertake military responsibilities. Military service was also an important source of income for many men within the peerage.'[36]

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[34] *Ibid.*, p. 291.
[35] Ian Roy, 'The Profession of Arms', in Wilfrid Prest (ed.), *The Professions of Early Modern England* (London, 1987), pp. 210-211.
[36] *HoL 1660-1715*, i., pp. 90-91.

III.

Although the country estate is the primary object of study in this thesis, senior military officers cannot be viewed solely through the medium of their rural seats where they would typically only spend a fraction of the year. The metropolis was another central component of their social and political lives. Quite apart from the need to attend duties at court and in Parliament, which by this period was meeting more frequently and for longer periods of time,[37] London was a centre for conducting legal and financial business of all kinds – including the arranging of marriages.[38] The highly lucrative marriages discussed in this thesis such as Lord Cobham's with a rich brewer's daughter, the Earl of Strafford's with a prominent shipbuilder's daughter, and James Stanhope's with the daughter of a wealthy former colonial governor, were undoubtedly arranged through metropolitan channels. London in this period has been subject to a great deal of interest by architectural historians such as Sir John Summerson in his seminal *Georgian London* and Elizabeth McKellar in her work both on the development of London during the critical 1660-1720 period and the London landscape more broadly in the long eighteenth century.[39] Unfortunately, with notable exceptions such as the London residences of Marlborough and Strafford, it is often difficult to ascertain much detail concerning the townhouses of the senior officers discussed in this thesis. Of course, that is not to say they were unimportant – on the contrary, but the simple fact that many of these London residences do not survive relative to their country

[37] Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order*, p. 225; Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman*, p. 378; Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford, 2013), p. 6. For army and navy officers in both Houses of Parliament, see *HoC 1690-1715*, 'The Members', appendices xiii-xiv; *HoC 1715-1754*, appendix vii; *HoL 1660-1715*, i., pp. 90-92.
[38] Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order*, pp. 231-232.
[39] John Summerson, *Georgian London*, new edn., ed. Howard Colvin (London, 2003); Elizabeth McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City 1660-1720* (Manchester, 1999); Elizabeth McKellar, *Landscapes of London: The City, the Country and the Suburbs 1660-1840* (New Haven and London, 2013).

estate counterparts has arguably meant that they, and the value the elite placed on them, have been underappreciated in the historiography by scholars such as Summerson.[40]

Recent research on elite urban material culture and townhouses has shed important light on the relationship between the metropolis and the provinces. For example, in Helen Jacobsen's work on the 'material world' of late Stuart diplomats, she makes note of the Earl of Strafford's plans in 1714 to build a gallery at his London house in order to display 'Picktures, Tapestry & other furniture to[o] good in my opinion to be sent so fare into the Country as Stainborough', his country estate in Yorkshire.[41] Although the plans were ultimately abandoned, Jacobsen argues that Strafford's initial enthusiasm derived from his desire for 'a space in which to display his aesthetic credentials while entertaining the fashionable world at his home', presumably something much more achievable in London than distant Yorkshire.[42] Jacobsen's emphasis on the importance of material culture is shared by Hannah Greig in her research on the fashionable 'Beau Monde' in London during the eighteenth century. Greig's study focuses on what she calls 'an elite within an elite, a subsection of the most elevated social ranks who successfully combined the securities of title and wealth with urban-based social and cultural authority.' Whilst therefore the personnel of the 'Beau Monde' did not represent a new elite, the basis of their power and prestige derived from 'new qualifications, including fashion, consumption, and public display' within an urban environment.[43] Nevertheless, the importance of London and the elite's townhouses should not detract from the country estate and ownership of land. As Greig acknowledges, there was significant overlap between members of London's 'Beau Monde' and the country's wealthiest landowners. For these people, a London residence

[40] Greig, *The Beau Monde*, pp. 12-13.
[41] BL, Add MS 31141 (Official and private correspondence and papers of Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby and Earl of Strafford), fol. 153.
[42] Helen Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 169-170, 224-225.
[43] Greig, *The Beau Monde*, pp. 3-4.

could serve as a medium through which to channel the prestige of the country estate as the very act of being able to fund a metropolitan establishment during the London season 'advertised substantial rural and regional assets.'[44] This interpretation highlights the interwoven nature of town and country, and the continuing importance of land and the country estate even in this arena of fashionable urbanism.

Greig's book adds to the substantial body of work conducted over the past few decades on how metropolitan life and urbanisation influenced the development of British society. A seminal text in this field is Peter Borsay's research on the 'Urban Renaissance' in English towns in the century following the Restoration of 1660. Here, Borsay has highlighted how towns helped to foster the growth of a polite sociability and civility distinct from older forms of traditional culture which the uneducated, impolite majority of people continued to adhere to.[45] This emphasis on the sometimes nebulous concept of 'politeness' has become a cornerstone of eighteenth-century historiography, a notable example being Paul Langford's study of England from 1727 to 1783, *A Polite and Commercial People*.[46] For Langford, this 'politeness' was a new form of refined and genteel sociability open to all with the financial means rather than an aristocratic few. In effect, this drew a dividing line in English society between the propertied and non-propertied. As Langford writes, 'Polite living and commercial consumption with any real degree of choice were for the propertied members of society.'[47] This broad view of the importance of politeness has been widely utilised by historians of the eighteenth century who have adopted it for their particular lines of enquiry. For example, Philip Carter has used the concept of politeness to explore ideas of masculinity

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[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 30. For more on the link between country house and townhouse, see M. H. Port, 'Town House and Country House: Their Interaction', in Dana Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud, 1998), pp. 117-138.
[45] Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 257-308.
[46] Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1998).
[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6. For a historiographical review of politeness in eighteenth-century Britain, see Lawrence E. Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 45, no. 4 (December 2002), pp. 869-898.

and definitions of the 'gentleman' in eighteenth-century Britain,[48] an approach deployed further by Matthew McCormack who has examined the relationship between dance and military drills with reference to politeness and masculinity.[49] Politeness also forms an important part of Julia Banister's research on masculinity and military men in the eighteenth century,[50] and Andrew Lincoln's articles on the relationship between war and civil society.[51]

To what extent politeness was compatible with the military man's way of life is a complex issue. Both Lincoln and Banister discuss the fictional club of 'Mr Spectator' that was a regular feature in Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's polite periodical *The Spectator*. The club contained several archetypes such as the country gentleman Sir Roger de Coverley and the merchant Sir Andrew Freeport. One of the characters was the retired army officer Captain Sentry. As Lincoln points out, Sentry was an urbane and well-mannered individual, 'inverting the conventional idea that the experience of war renders soldiers unfit for civilian life.'[52] However, Banister has identified tensions within Sentry's character. Sentry had left the army due to his lack of connections (Steele had abandoned his army career in 1705 for the same reason) meaning that the club's military man was not actually a serving officer. Sentry's status was further muddled by the fact that he eventually inherited de Coverley's estate, adopted a new landed identity, and retired to the country. Thus, whilst Sentry's positive traits suggest Steele sought to defend the status of the army officer in polite society, he also struggled to accommodate him.[53] Lincoln sees Sentry's inheritance from de Coverley in a less conflicted light, describing it as a 'symbolic reconciliation between a traditional

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[48] Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow, 2001).
[49] Matthew McCormack, 'Dance and Drill: Polite Accomplishments and Military Masculinities in Georgian Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 8, issue 3 (2011), pp. 315-330.
[50] Julia Banister, *Masculinity, Militarism and Eighteenth-Century Culture, 1689-1815* (Cambridge, 2018).
[51] Andrew Lincoln, 'The Culture of War and Civil Society in the Reigns of William III and Anne', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 44, no. 4 (Summer 2011), pp. 455-474; Andrew Lincoln, 'War and the Culture of Politeness: The Case of The Tatler and The Spectator', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, vol. 36, no. 2 (Spring 2012), pp. 60-79.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[53] Banister, *Masculinity, Militarism and Eighteenth-Century Culture*, pp. 28-29.

virtue, grounded in landownership, and the tried and tested virtue of the professional soldier'.[54]

Most retired army captains would not have been the recipients of inheritances as large as the fictional Sentry's. However, relative to their junior counterparts, senior military officers were more likely to be in a position to purchase or inherit estates. This meant that for them the transition from serving officer to landed elite (or the simultaneous holding of both roles) was more natural and less unusual. Certainly, the ease with which many of the senior officers discussed in this thesis forged relationships with celebrated figures such as the poet Alexander Pope (who corresponded with them about gardening projects at their estates and other matters) would suggest that most had little trouble assimilating into the fashionable social circles of the day. There are of course examples of senior military officers' alleged impoliteness. As will become clear in chapter one, Cadogan had a reputation for gaudy ostentatiousness which could be read in this sense. Similarly, Addison's denouncing in *The Spectator* of the pedantic officer 'who always talks in a Camp' so that 'Every thing he speaks smells of Gunpowder', is supported by real-life examples. A weary Jonathan Swift was accosted by Lieutenant-General Richard Ingoldsby at Windsor in September 1711 who 'came up and saluted me, and began a very impertinent discourse about the siege of Bouchain', though Swift successfully deflected Ingoldsby onto another army officer rather than listen to his ramblings.[55] In *The Examiner,* Swift was scornful of many army officers' ability to transition to civil society and criticised those who 'appear in all Companies as if it were at the Head of their Regiments, with a sort of Deportment that ought to have been dropt behind, in that short Passage to *Harwich* [where many soldiers disembarked].'[56]

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[54] Lincoln, 'War and the Culture of Politeness', p. 74.
[55] Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella: Letters to Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley, 1710-1713*, ed. Abigail Williams (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 271-272; *The Spectator*, no. 105 (30 June 1711). Steele had more complex thoughts on military conversationalists, see Banister, *Masculinity, Militarism and Eighteenth-Century Culture*, pp. 31-32.
[56] *The Examiner*, vol. 1, issue 21 (21 December 1710).

However, such predjudices and anecdotes should be treated with a degree of caution. For example, George II's waspish courtier Lord Hervey (who differentiated 'the gallantry' of the army camp from 'the politeness' of the court)[57] commented that Admiral James Berkeley, 3rd Earl of Berkeley 'was a man of great family and great quality, rough, proud, hard, and obstinate, with excellent good natural parts, but so uncultivated that he was totally ignorant of every branch of knowledge but his profession.'[58] Yet in his youth Berkeley had been a member of the most famous sociable Whig fraternity, the Kit-Cat Club,[59] and in 1730 he was portrayed in a conversation piece depicting the distinctly polite surroundings of a tea party at Lord Harrington's London house.[60]

Finally, it must be borne in mind that viewing this thesis's case studies through the lens of politeness may not always be the most historiographically suitable method. James Legard argues that the design and construction of Blenheim Palace for the Duke of Marlborough should be contextualised within an *ancien régime* courtly tradition rather than one that focuses on supposed eighteenth-century 'modernity'.[61] The same logic can be applied to one of Marlborough's most skilled generals, George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney who had a long-standing relationship with the court since his marriage in 1695 to Elizabeth Villiers, a presumed former mistress of William III. Like his wife, Orkney cultivated courtly links and served as one of George I's Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, being fondly described by a fellow Scottish officer in 1733 as 'the old Comte at Cliffden', referring to the country

[57] Apparently happily married in the case of the 2nd Earl of Scarbrough even if 'His education had inclined him a little too much to the love of an army', see John Hervey Baron Hervey, *Some Materials Towards Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, ed. Romney R. Sedgwick, (3 vols., London, 1931), i., pp. 70-71.
[58] *Ibid.*, i., p. 37.
[59] Philip Carter, 'Kit-Cat Club (act. 1696–1720)', *ODNB*.
[60] Ching-Jung Chen, 'Portraying Politeness: The Early Georgian Conversation Piece and Its Patrons', *Visual Resources*, vol. 27, issue 3 (2011), pp. 208-209, fig. 2.
[61] James Legard, 'Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace, and the Meanings of Baroque Architecture' (2 vols., University of York PhD thesis, 2013), i., pp. 238-239.

estate in Buckinghamshire he purchased in 1696.[62] Whilst this thesis may roughly cover the first half of the eighteenth century, it must be remembered that the senior officers discussed were born and grew up in the second half of the seventeenth century. In this sense, they (particularly older officers such as Marlborough) predate the culture of 'politeness' which became so entrenched in the eighteenth century as much as they overlap with it.

IV.

In military historiography, the political, social, and cultural aspects of the lives of senior military officers in this period have been underexplored. Particularly from the 1980s onwards, much important research has been done by historians of the British army in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such as John Childs in his trilogy of books on the armies of 1660-1702, Alan J. Guy in his analysis of the leadership and administration of George I and George II's army, and J. A. Houlding in his study of the training of the Georgian army.[63] However, this body of work has generally been more focused on how the British army operated as an institution or profession, and less about the personal lives of its senior officers, their country estates, or their relationship with Britain's wider elite. Of course, this is not to say that army history is faceless and obsessed with administrative and logistical developments. Valuable social and political analysis in the works cited above includes Childs's explanation of the tension between 'gentlemen' and 'professional' officers in the years of William III and how this related to landed concerns and the standing army debate, and Guy's discussion of the attachment the first two Georgian monarchs felt towards their precious army and the influence they wielded over it.[64] The historiography of late

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[62] *Annals and Correspondence of the Viscount and the First and Second Earls of Stair*, ed. John Murray Graham (2 vols., Edinburgh and London, 1875), ii., p. 202.
[63] John Childs, *The Army of Charles II* (London, 1976); John Childs, *The Army, James II, and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1980); John Childs, *The British Army of William III, 1689-1702* (Manchester, 1987); Alan J. Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline: Officership and Administration in the British Army 1714-63* (Manchester, 1985); J. A. Houlding, *Fit for Service: The Training of the British Army, 1715-1795* (Oxford, 1981).
[64] Childs, *The British Army of William III*, pp. 39-42; Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline*, pp. 19-23.

seventeenth and early eighteenth-century army officers has also recently been strengthened by the doctoral theses of Stewart Stansfield and Neil Sanghvi. Stansfield examines the command of the British army during the War of Spanish Succession through an in-depth analysis of Marlborough's general and staff officers, whilst Sanghvi has focused on the changes and continuities in the officer establishment between 1689 and 1739.[65]

What has been said of the scholarship concerning the army can also be applied to the Royal Navy. Naval historians such as John Ehrman and Daniel A. Baugh have paid attention to officers in their administrative histories of the navy during the reigns of William III through to George II.[66] More recently, in his wide-ranging study of the British navy from 1649 to 1815, N. A. M. Rodger has dedicated a couple of chapters to social and political history in the period 1689-1763.[67] This includes, for instance, an overview of politics and parliamentary interference in the navy during the reigns of William III and Anne.[68] Elsewhere, Rodger has examined the navy officers of the middle years of the eighteenth century and the social status of officers during the long eighteenth century.[69] Overall however, much of this naval research has been more interested in navy officers as a profession rather than the senior officers' relationship with elite society or the purchasing of estates. Indeed, compared to officers from other periods such as the Restoration years or

[65] Stewart Stansfield, 'Early Modern Systems of Command: Queen Anne's Generality, Staff Officers and the Direction of Allied Warfare in the Low Countries and Germany, 1702-11' (University of Leeds PhD thesis, 2010); Neil Sanghvi, 'Gentlemen of Leisure or Vital Professionals? The Officer Establishment of the British Army, 1689-1739' (University of Oxford DPhil thesis, 2017).
[66] John Ehrman, *The Navy in the War of William III 1689-1697: Its State and Direction* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 109-143; Daniel A. Baugh, *British Naval Administration in the Age of Walpole* (Princeton, 1965), pp. 93-146.
[67] N. A. M. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649-1815* (London, 2004), pp. 201-215, 312-326.
[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.
[69] N. A. M. Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (London, 1988), pp. 252-327; N. A. M. Rodger, 'Honour and Duty at Sea, 1660-1815', *Historical Research*, vol. 75, issue 190 (November 2002), pp. 425-447.

the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries,[70] the navy officers of the earlier part of the eighteenth century have been rather neglected in the historiography. Similarly, much of the literature concerning the 'fiscal-military state' in the eighteenth century such as John Brewer's *The Sinews of Power* is not particularly concerned with the themes being explored here.[71]

Other, less strictly-speaking 'military' historians such as Hannah Smith and Kathleen Wilson have done valuable work on the relationship between politics and the military. Smith has examined the politicisation of the army around the time of the Hanoverian Succession,[72] and Wilson has analysed the impact of Vice-Admiral Edward Vernon's naval expeditions in the Caribbean on popular politics in the late 1730s and early 1740s.[73] Other scholars who have discussed issues relating to the military whilst not being themselves 'military historians' include art historians such as Richard Johns, Matthew Hargraves, and Robert Wellington who have written on the Duke of Marlborough's complex relationship with artistic display and visual culture.[74] Like these studies, the analysis of senior army and navy officers in this thesis is rooted in character studies and their political and cultural context, rather than the military as an institution.

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[70] J. D. Davies, *Gentlemen and Tarpaulins: The Officers and Men of the Restoration Navy* (Oxford, 1991); Evan Wilson, 'The Sea Officers: Gentility and Professionalism in the Royal Navy, 1775-1815' (University of Oxford DPhil thesis, 2014).

[71] John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (London, 1989), although see pp. 34-37 for a discussion of military men in Parliament etc.

[72] Hannah Smith, 'The Hanoverian Succession and the Politicisation of the British Army', in Andreas Gestrich and Michael Schaich (eds.), *The Hanoverian Succession: Dynastic Politics and Monarchical Culture* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 207-226.

[73] Kathleen Wilson, 'Empire, Trade and Popular Politics in Mid-Hanoverian Britain: The Case of Admiral Vernon', *Past and Present*, no. 121 (November 1988), pp. 74-109. Also see Gerald Jordan and Nicholas Rogers, 'Admirals as Heroes: Patriotism and Liberty in Hanoverian England', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 28, no. 3 (July 1989), pp. 201-211.

[74] Richard Johns, '"The British Caesar": John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough, and the Visual Arts', in John B. Hattendorf, Augustus J. Veenendaal Jr, and Rolof van Hövell tot Westerflier (eds.), *Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat* (Rotterdam, 2012), pp. 320-355; Matthew Hargraves, 'The Public Image of John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough, 1702-1708', in Mark Hallett, Nigel Llewellyn, and Martin Myrone (eds.), *Court, Country, City: British Art and Architecture, 1660-1735* (New Haven, 2016), pp. 177-194; Robert Wellington, 'A Reflection of the Sun: The Duke of Marlborough in the Image of Louis XIV', *The Court Historian*, vol. 21, issue 2 (2016), pp. 125-139.

Furthermore, it is of great importance that these senior officers are thought of both as individuals as well as a group linked by their military experience. A useful parallel can be drawn here with Rory Rapple's study of Elizabethan political culture through the prism of English soldiers.[75] Like the late Stuart and early Georgian senior military officers of this thesis, Rapple focuses on a particular generation, in his case the English captains who served in Ireland from 1558 to 1594. Rapple argues, principally as a response to sceptical British historians of political thought and ideas, that whilst 'The prioritisation of texts (and texts that aid the study of texts) has an obvious value… so has the placing of a person or a defined group (mindful of individual idiosyncrasies) at the centre of a study.'[76] What Rapple means by these 'individual idiosyncrasies' is hinted at by his complaint that 'the personalities and activities of all the English captains in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth I have become blended together, not only in popular accounts but also in academic histories.'[77]

Like Rapple and his captains, this thesis has at its heart not an idea or series of texts, but a group of individuals. This framework allows for the recognition of the individuality of the senior military officers discussed, whilst at the same time enabling them as a group to be analysed in the context of broader themes. Concentrating on a particular generation also brings into sharp relief their interconnected social and political links, as well as their personal networks. This approach highlights relatives, friends, and colleagues who played vital roles in implementing officers' building and gardening projects such as women like Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough and Lucy, Countess Stanhope. This in turn underlines the point that though this thesis is primarily focused on military men, the agency of their wives was of great

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[75] Rory Rapple, *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture: Military Men in England and Ireland, 1558-1594* (Cambridge, 2009). Another Elizabethan study has examined the soldier-politician the 2nd Earl of Essex and political culture from the 1590s until his rebellion in 1601, see Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford, 2012).
[76] Rapple, *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture*, p. 18.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

importance as recently highlighted by Amy Boyington in her doctoral thesis on the architectural patronage of elite women in the eighteenth century.[78]

v.

This thesis covers the period from c. 1700 to 1750. The beginning of the eighteenth century marks the point when the officers under discussion reached or began to reach senior positions in the military hierarchy during Britain's participation in the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1713). 1750 marks the point by which virtually all these officers had died, rather than being a year of intrinsic value in and of itself. This generation, many of whom reached maturity during or in the aftermath of the 1688-9 Revolution and gained their first military experience in the Nine Years' War (1688-1697), experienced almost constant warfare between 1688 and 1713. Those who survived into middle or old age then lived through a long period of peace (apart from a couple of minor conflicts) until war broke out with Spain in 1739 and was subsumed into the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748). By this point most were dead or too elderly to take up active command. These men are thus highly suitable case studies for this study which is just as interested in officers' activities during times of peace as their years of active service. The case studies selected for each chapter have been chosen because they are particularly illuminating in the context of the various themes that are explored in this thesis. On a more practical note, the choice has also been heavily influenced by the survival and availability of source material about officers' personal lives such as their building and gardening projects.

To reiterate, this thesis is about senior military officers and consequently there will be little analysis of officers who died or retired from the army and navy without reaching the

[78] Amy Boyington, 'Maids, Wives and Widows: Female Architectural Patronage in Eighteenth-Century Britain' (University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 2017), pp. 114-141. For women's relationship with architecture and the arts, see Anne Laurence, *Women in England 1500-1760: A Social History* (London, 1994), pp. 152-162.

ranks of general or admiral unless they directly relate to one of the senior officer case studies by familial or patronage ties. The reason for this is practical as, unsurprisingly, most generals and admirals cut higher-profile figures, have left much richer paper trails, and built larger and more visible estates when compared to those below them. Civilian military administrators and contractors are similarly out of this thesis's remit. As Aaron Graham's research on pay office networks has shown, civilians involved with the business of war in the early eighteenth-century such as the army paymaster James Brydges are valuable objects of study,[79] but are distinctly different to military officers who cut their own public profile even if they also served as administrators at institutions such as the Admiralty. Neither does this thesis pretend to be an all-encompassing analysis of army and navy officers as members of a profession, so adeptly studied by other historians such as Geoffrey Holmes and Ian Roy.[80]

This thesis utilises a variety of printed and archival material such as correspondence, travel journals and country house descriptions, verse, estate papers, and books of architecture. Although burgeoning eighteenth-century print culture has been of immense use as source material, that which has been consulted is mainly about the officers and estates under discussion, rather than being penned by the officers themselves. Although there are some exceptions – such as the translated French military textbook published by Brigadier-General Adam Williamson in 1740 cited in chapter one, the senior officers examined in this thesis did not yield a wealth of authored pamphlets or treatises to examine. For biographical information on the individuals discussed, the chief resources have included the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the works of the Victorian military historian Charles Dalton,[81] as well as various volumes of *The History of Parliament* (online in the case of the Commons and in hard copy in the case of the Lords). Information on the estates that

[79] Aaron Graham, *Corruption, Party, and Government in Britain, 1702-1713* (Oxford, 2015).
[80] Holmes, *Augustan England*, pp. 262-287; Roy, 'The Profession of Arms', pp. 181-219.
[81] Charles Dalton, *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714* (6 vols., London, 1892-1904); Charles Dalton, *George the First's Army 1714-1727* (2 vols., London, 1910-1912).

these officers acquired has derived from resources such as Howard Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*,[82] the *Victoria County History*, Pevsner architectural guides, official heritage listings, and literature (often by local or amateur historians) concerning the history of particular estates. This latter body of work can be insightful when trying to learn about a specific individual or family and their estate, but often has a superficial view of the wider context and historicises this heritage inadequately. Overall, this thesis demonstrates an interdisciplinary approach which incorporates a wide variety of sources and literature into the research and synthesises them effectively. This has ensured that those elements of chapters which are more architectural or art historical sit within their proper political, social, and cultural context.

The themes analysed in this thesis are explored through case studies, with each chapter broadly (but not mechanically) looking at the same themes through a number of different senior military officers. The first chapter concerns John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough and his great building project of Blenheim in Woodstock, Oxfordshire as well as the estates and fortunes of his (often Irish) protégés. These include his Quartermaster-General William Cadogan, 1st Earl Cadogan who acquired and developed a country estate at Caversham near Reading, as well as other favourites of the Duke in the army such as Francis Palmes and Thomas Meredyth. The chapter ends with a section on Meredyth and Cadogan's former aide-de-camp and Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower of London, Adam Williamson, whose summer retreat in Berkshire is recorded in an engraving, to provide a spectrum of officers' estates from colossal palace to large gentleman's house. The Duke and Duchess of Marlborough are well-researched figures and a wealth of secondary literature complements the archival and printed material concerning them. This chapter therefore first explores the unique and complex nature of Blenheim and the critical response such a major project for a

[82] Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th edn. (New Haven and London, 2008).

prominent public figure like Marlborough generated. It then focuses on Marlborough's favourites (and, in turn, one of their favourites), their relationship with the Captain-General, and how in his shadow they settled into elite landed life through political activity and estate building.

The second chapter looks at arguably the most renowned country house landscape of the period – Stowe in Buckinghamshire, the ancestral estate of Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham, a senior army officer who fell out with Sir Robert Walpole in the 1730s and became a leading opposition figure. Whilst of course acknowledging Stowe's traditional importance in the historiography of the anti-Walpole 'Patriot' opposition, this chapter treads new ground in looking at military influences in the landscape, the figure of Cobham himself (a challenging task due to the dearth of his correspondence), and his friends and military colleagues who visited Stowe such as the army officer Charles Cathcart (later 8th Lord Cathcart) who left a lengthy account of his visit. By drawing on other military officers' estates such as Joseph Sabine's house at Tewin in Hertfordshire, this chapter also details how Cobham's unique and highly politicised creation can usefully be situated within the broader context of other officers' estates in this period through examining its participation in the shared country house tradition of hosting royalty. Much of this analysis draws from the copious amount of descriptions and verse concerning Stowe, which helps to incorporate a wide range of different viewpoints.

The third chapter examines James Stanhope, 1st Earl Stanhope, soldier and later one of George I's most important ministers, and his purchase of Chevening in Kent in 1717. Although Stanhope's sudden death a mere four years later prevented him from spending much time at his new country estate, the Stanhope papers at the Kent archives provide a wealth of material that allows the exploration of several important themes. These include the process of acquiring an estate, the idea of Chevening as a dynastic statement (as

opposed to somewhere like Cadogan's Caversham), matters of architectural and political patronage, and the role of family and professional networks in the building process. One of the most important of these networks was the wealthy Pitt family who Stanhope was related to by marriage. Whilst Stanhope of course plays a central role in this chapter, it also therefore encompasses an array of relatives and other army officers (two overlapping categories) who played vital roles in the development of the estate during Stanhope's life and after his death.

The fourth chapter discusses the soldier-diplomat Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford and explores themes such as his grasping for a peerage (which involved the soliciting of Marlborough and useful conduits such as Cadogan), his estate acquisition and development, and his attitude towards and interaction with the Hanoverians. This was a deeply complex relationship following the Whig government's attempt to impeach him in 1715. As this chapter shows, labelling Strafford as a Jacobite post-1714 is simplistic and misleading, and there are particularly intriguing links between him and George II's queen Caroline. Much recent work on Strafford has largely focused on his ministerial career before the Hanoverian Succession. This chapter tracks his aspirations and self-fashioning both before 1714 as well as the equally revealing decades afterwards. This allows for an analysis of, for instance, Strafford's advice on estate management transmitted to his son in the 1730s. At the heart of all this was Strafford's main Yorkshire seat, Wentworth Castle, whose iconography has been subject to much art historical study but which this chapter adds to the understanding of.

The fifth chapter focuses on three senior Scottish army officers: John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll and 1st Duke of Greenwich, George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney, and John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair. During the War of Spanish Succession, a unified British state came into being with the 1707 Act of Union. This chapter thus explores these Scottish

officers' relationship with the new 'British elite' by examining issues such as their pursuit of British peerages and their relationship with Scotland. For example, whereas Stair spent much of his time at his ancestral Scottish estates, Orkney (a younger brother of the Duke of Hamilton) built a life in the south of England. As head of arguably the most important landed interest in Scotland, Argyll dwarfed both in terms of wealth and resources, although all three took an active interest in country house and garden building, and estate development. Although there are Scottish peculiarities to their narrative, the overall theme is of integration into elite British society, rather than exclusion.

Finally, the sixth chapter concerns a relatively sizeable sample of senior navy officers in this period by way of comparison such as Sir George Rooke, Sir John Leake, Edward Russell, 1st Earl of Orford, and George Byng, 1st Viscount Torrington. This chapter consequently discusses the same themes as the previous chapters which focused on senior army officers. These include estate acquisition and development as well as matters of politics and patronage such as the quest for peerages and factionalism in the navy. It concludes that despite their professions' differences, it is striking to what extent senior navy officers engaged with the same sort of socio-political issues and activities as their army counterparts (although if they sought to obtain high office their prospects were perhaps narrower). Past scholarship has often focused on either the army or the navy but not both. Thus, by including senior officers from both sides of the military profession, a more historiographically original and well-rounded thesis has been produced as a result.

Chapter One – Blenheim and Beyond:

The Duke of Marlborough and his Favourites

This chapter examines the political lives and estates of several military officers at the heart of the most important military connexion in the early eighteenth-century, that of Captain-General John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722), who built the colossal house and gardens of Blenheim in Woodstock, Oxfordshire. The most important member of Marlborough's staff was his Quartermaster-General William Cadogan (1671/2-1726), who later acquired a peerage and the country seat of Caversham near Reading. The Duke had other favourites in the army as well such as Thomas Meredyth (aft. 1661-1719) and Francis Palmes (d. 1719). They in turn had their own followers such as Adam Williamson (1676/7-1747), a military official at the Tower of London and former aide-de-camp to Meredyth and Cadogan, who acquired a large gentleman's house in the Berkshire market town of Oakingham (Wokingham). Whilst only Blenheim was literally a reward for military service, all these officers' estates signified the professional success of their owners. Officers' estates of course served as places of rest and relaxation, but some officers also used their estates to commemorate their own careers or the regimes which they prospered under.

The amount of academic attention paid to these estates has naturally varied. Unsurprisingly, considering Blenheim is one of the most famous country houses in Britain, substantial research has been conducted on the house and its original gardens (largely destroyed by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown in the 1760s and 1770s), two notable monographs being David Green's 1951 study and James Legard's 2013 doctoral thesis.[1] There has also been much interesting analysis of Blenheim embedded within studies of the people involved in its creation such as the architect Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726).[2] This thesis utilises new

[1] David Green, *Blenheim Palace* (Oxford, 1951); Legard, 'Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace, and the Meanings of Baroque Architecture'.
[2] For example, see Kerry Downes, *Vanbrugh* (London, 1977), pp. 55-75; Vaughan Hart, *Sir John Vanbrugh: Storyteller in Stone* (New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 136-145.

perspectives on Blenheim as well as synthesis of existing research to present a nuanced analysis which includes discussion of the gardens as well as the house, and draws on correspondence, the house's architecture, and contemporary literature. Marlborough was the most important British military figure of the early eighteenth-century, and the construction of Blenheim one of the largest architectural projects. It is therefore vital to first understand the philosophy behind the Captain-General's house and its influence before moving on to his military subordinates. Compared to Blenheim, Cadogan's estate at Caversham (where the present house is Victorian and only traces of Cadogan's landscape remain) has had far less scholarly attention paid to it, the most recent being in William Alvis Brogden's study of the garden designer Stephen Switzer (1682-1745).[3] Very little information remains about the estates of other favourites such as Meredyth and Palmes, and practically nothing has been written about Williamson's house in Oakingham, still extant but much altered.

The first two sections of this chapter are focused on Marlborough and his house at Woodstock. The first section introduces the Blenheim project and its key purpose as a royal and national monument rather than simply a private house, and then the second section considers the reception to Blenheim by poets and polemicists. This includes responses to the house's architecture as well as Marlborough's retirement there. The third section discusses Marlboroughite officers such as Cadogan, Palmes, and Meredyth, and examines their relationship with their chief patron. The fourth section then focuses on the most important and best-documented of Marlborough's favourites, Cadogan, and his programme of works at his Caversham estate. Finally, the fifth section concentrates on Meredyth and Cadogan's

[3] William Alvis Brogden, *Ichnographia Rustica: Stephen Switzer and the Designed Landscape* (Abingdon and New York, 2017), pp. 119-124. Also see John Malpas, *Caversham Park and its Owners* (Caversham, 1997).

follower Williamson, and the summer retreat he acquired in Oakingham at the beginning of George II's reign.

I.

A royalist family, the Churchills' political and financial circumstances were difficult at the time of John Churchill's birth in 1650, although the Restoration years brought Churchill's father a knighthood and various offices. Nevertheless, few could have expected that the adolescent who became a page to the Duke of York and an ensign in the foot guards in 1667 would, thirty-five years later, be Duke of Marlborough, Captain-General of the army, and one of the country's most important subjects (figs. 1.1 and 1.2).[4] Marlborough's famous victory at the battle of Blenheim in Bavaria in August 1704 resulted in him being rewarded by Queen Anne with the grant of the royal manor of Woodstock in Oxfordshire. Marlborough's wife Sarah (1660-1744) had a long-standing and close friendship with Anne, although now it was becoming increasingly strained.[5] A decision was quickly (and quietly) made to construct a new house on the site paid for at the Crown's expense rather than Marlborough's (fig. 1.3). The house and gardens at Blenheim were raised simultaneously, with the Duke's architect, the Whig playwright John Vanbrugh, writing to his patron that 'The Garden wall was set agoing the same day [18 June 1705] with the House'.[6] Along with Vanbrugh, other crucial figures at Blenheim included the more experienced architect Nicholas Hawksmoor, the royal gardener Henry Wise, and a host of other characters such as

[4] For Marlborough's long and illustrious military and political career under several monarchs, see John B. Hattendorf, 'Churchill, John, First Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722)', *ODNB*; *HoL 1660-1715*, ii., pp. 564-613.
[5] Frances Harris, *A Passion for Government: The Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 104-122.
[6] BL, Add MS 61353 (Blenheim papers), fol. 3. For Marlborough's reply, see John Churchill Duke of Marlborough, *The Letters and Dispatches of John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough, from 1702 to 1712*, ed. George Murray (5 vols., London, 1845), ii., p. 207.

the Comptroller and Clerk of the Works Henry Joynes.[7] Inside and out, the house and gardens Marlborough and his designers created were replete with military commemoration and significance. This included the martial trophies adorning the building and interior ornamentation such as James Thornhill's 1716 allegorical hall ceiling painting depicting a hero presenting a plan of the battle of Blenheim to Britannia.[8] Blenheim was also home to artwork acquired by Marlborough such as his Flemish tapestry sets like the *Art of War* and *Victories* series, the former depicting generic military scenes and the latter Marlborough's most famous actions during the War of Spanish Succession.[9] However, the process of building at Blenheim was infamously difficult. Work continued for decades, interrupted by the Marlboroughs' period out of favour during the last few years of Anne's reign (and consequent voluntary exile on the Continent)[10] but eventually resuming after the Hanoverian Succession in 1714. The couple were finally able to move into the main house in 1719 though the increasingly enfeebled Duke died in 1722 and the project was completed by the dowager Duchess by the 1730s. Much like the timescale, Blenheim's costs spiralled out of control (the total amount expended probably being about £325,000) and the state funding eventually dried up. The Marlboroughs had to pay around £60,000 of their own money to finish the project and ended up involved in a series of fractious lawsuits concerning outstanding debts to the workmen.[11]

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[7] For a summary of Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor, and Joynes' careers, see Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 1067-1074, 496-502, 597-598. For Wise, see David Green, *Gardener to Queen Anne: Henry Wise (1653-1738) and the Formal Garden* (London, 1956).

[8] For an explanation by Thornhill of his painting addressed to the Duchess of Marlborough, see BL, Add MS 61354, fols. 38-39.

[9] For Marlborough's various tapestry commissions, see Alan Wace, *The Marlborough Tapestries at Blenheim Palace and Their Relation to Other Military Tapestries of the War of the Spanish Succession* (London and New York, 1968); Jeri Bapasola, *Threads of History: The Tapestries at Blenheim Palace* (Lydney, 2005); Johns, '"The British Caesar"', pp. 333-341; Wellington, 'A Reflection of the Sun', pp. 134-137.

[10] For an account of Marlborough's exile between the end of 1712 and the summer of 1714, see Edward Gregg, 'Marlborough in Exile, 1712-1714', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 15, no. 4 (December 1972), pp. 593-618.

[11] For detailed documentary accounts of the development of house, gardens, and park, see 'Blenheim: Blenheim Palace' and 'Blenheim: Park from 1705' in Alan Crossley and C. R. Elrington (eds.), *A History*

A central interpretation of Blenheim both to contemporaries and modern scholarship is its function as a monument which is well attested by the documentary evidence. The house was of course named after the battle itself, Marlborough in 1709 drawing attention to the fact that 'the house is in memory of this warr, by the name it is to have',[12] and commentators such as the Scottish architect Colen Campbell (1676-1729) noted (no doubt with all the military imagery in mind) that Blenheim had been 'adapted to the Martial Genius of the Patron.'[13] Whilst many of the estates examined in this thesis commemorated their military owners' careers in some way, Blenheim was exceptional in not only how the Crown gifted and funded it, but also the extent to which it functioned as a monument. However, this function was a complex one and the different people that Blenheim memorialised – Marlborough, the Queen, and the wider nation, created ambiguity. Indeed, the emphasis often changed depending on circumstance. For example, following the dismissal of Marlborough's chief political ally, the Lord Treasurer Sidney Godolphin, 1st Earl of Godolphin (1645-1712) in August 1710,[14] Vanbrugh penned letters to the new ministers to try and secure continued funding for the project. He wrote on 30 September to the First Lord of the Treasury, the 1st Earl Poulett, that although Blenheim 'was to be calculat'd for, and Adapted to, a private Habitation… it ought at ye same time, to be consider'd as both a Royall and a National Monument'.[15] Similarly, on the same date

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of the County of Oxford: Volume 12, Wootton Hundred (South) Including Woodstock (London, 1990), pp. 448-470, BHO; Alan Brooks and Jennifer Sherwood, *The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire: North and West* (New Haven, 2017), pp. 152-169.

[12] *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ed. Henry L. Snyder (3 vols., Oxford, 1975), iii., p. 1309.

[13] Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus, or The British Architect, Containing the Plans, Elevations, and Sections of the Regular Buildings, both Publick and Private, in Great Britain, with Variety of New Designs; In 200 Large Folio Plates, Engraven by the Best Hands; And Drawn Either from the Buildings Themselves, or the Original Designs of the Architects* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), i., p. 5, in Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus: The Classic of Eighteenth-Century British Architecture* (Mineola NY, 2007). For plans and elevations of Blenheim, see i., pl. 55-62. For Campbell, see Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 213-217.

[14] For Marlborough and Godolphin's relationship, see Frances Harris, *The General in Winter: The Marlborough-Godolphin Friendship and the Reign of Anne* (Oxford, 2017).

[15] John Vanbrugh, *The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, eds. Bonamy Dobrée and Geoffrey Webb (4 vols., London, 1927-1928), iv., p. 45.

Vanbrugh declared to the mastermind behind Godolphin's fall, the Chancellor of the Exchequer Robert Harley (1661-1724, later 1st Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer), that he looked upon Blenheim 'much more as an intended Monument of the Queens Glory,' rather than just a private home for Marlborough.[16]

Vanbrugh's tactic paid off and the Treasury granted £7000 for Blenheim. The architect remarked to Marlborough later that year how well his approach of 'giving the Building that turn of a Publick Monument had workt', and claimed that even the Duke's enemies considered the Queen's 'Honour was at Stake to see it compleated.'[17] More recently, James Legard has argued that Marlborough himself eagerly promoted the idea of Blenheim as a royal or national monument in order to deflect allegations that he was financially exploiting his relationship with the Queen. By emphasising the public and monumental qualities of the project, the granting and funding of Blenheim by the Crown became more politically acceptable than if it had just been a private house for Marlborough.[18] Certainly, in September 1711, by which point the Duchess of Marlborough had been dismissed from her court offices (Marlborough himself was dismissed at the end of the year), the Duke was keen to advertise his awareness of the public nature of his project. As he wrote to his Ordnance secretary and political intermediary, James Craggs the Elder, whilst Marlborough was not accountable for the Blenheim expenditure 'it behoves me aswell for my own sake as the publick that those accounts should be strictly examin'd'. After all, Marlborough continued, 'it is certainly very right that the Publick should be satisfy'd that the money has been expended with all possible oeconomy and I should be glad when the

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[17] Laurence Whistler, *The Imagination of Vanbrugh and his Fellow Artists* (London, 1954), appendix 1, p. 239.
[18] James Legard, 'Queen Anne, Court Culture and the Construction of Blenheim Palace', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 37, no. 2 (2014), p. 191.

account is settled and audited, that a Book containing the whole fairly written might be lodg'd in the Treasury or Exchequer for the satisfaction of the Publick.'[19]

Whether Blenheim's monumental qualities could be reconciled with it also functioning as a family home was another matter. Godolphin evidently sympathised with the concerned Duchess of Marlborough that the house was simply too big to comfortably live in, writing to her in September 1705:

> 'Tis needless (I beleive) for mee to tell you I agree entirely in your notions both as to the expence and the unwieldyness of Woodstock, and have sayd so as much as was fitt for mee, but I can't struggle very long in anything of that kind, and you have seen by all Lord Marlborough's letters upon that subject, he thought it was not only proper, but necessary. Now if one looks upon this house only as a memoriall, sett up for the publick upon so remarkable an occasion, hee is certainly in the right. But with a view of enjoying it himself, I am apt to think your notion would have been righter.[20]

Marlborough was not oblivious to Sarah's misgivings about the project. However, although in October 1707 he conceded that a smaller house would have been finished quicker and that he was unlikely to get much pleasure from it whilst the workmen were there, 'as it will be a monument of the Queen's favour and aprobation of my services to posterity, I can't disaprove of the modell'.[21]

The enduring importance and perception of Blenheim as a monument to Marlborough, Crown, and nation is evidenced by visitors' accounts. For example, in *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* published in 1724-26, Daniel Defoe underlined how Blenheim represented 'the Bounty, the Gratitude, or what else Posterity pleases to call it, of the *English Nation*, to the Man whom they delighted to Honour'. Thus, Blenheim was 'a Monument of the generous Temper of the *English Nation*', and 'a National Building, and

[19] BL, Stowe MS 751 (Stowe manuscripts), fols. 13-14. Marlborough expressed similar sentiments to the Lord Treasurer the Earl of Oxford, see *Ibid.*, fol. 15.
[20] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, i., p. 495.
[21] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 934.

must for ever be call'd so.'[22] In his 1744 memoirs, Matthew Bishop, a corporal during the War of Spanish Succession, placed more emphasis on how Blenheim memorialised the actions of Marlborough and his army: 'what we did that Year [1709], through the Instigation of that brave Duke, ever will endure so long as *Blenheim* House stands in *Woodstock* Park *Oxfordshire*. The last time I rode through it, it revived my Soul to see the Statue of that brave *English* Man, whom none can outdo, and I believe in Justice none will gainsay but corroborate my Opinion.'[23] The statue of Marlborough to which Bishop referred was perched atop a Column of Victory erected around 1730 by the dowager Duchess as part of her efforts to finish her late husband's beloved project and heighten its function as a memorial to his life's work.[24]

Despite the breakdown of the Duchess's relationship with Vanbrugh back in 1716 (the architect had no further involvement in the project beyond that point), it is clear that by her widowed years she felt committed to complete the vision he articulated back in June 1709:

> *As I believe it cannot be doubted, but if Travellers many Ages hence, shall be shewn The Very House in which so great a Man Dwelt, as they will then read the Duke of Marlborough in Story… I believe, tho' they may not find Art enough in the* Builder, to make them *Admire the Beauty of the Fabrick* they will find Wonder enough in the Story, to make 'em pleas'd with the Sight of it.[25]

Although the broader context of this quotation is Vanbrugh's well-known but unsuccessful attempt to save the medieval Woodstock manor from demolition by the Marlboroughs, it is

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[22] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Divided in Circuits or Journies*, ed. John McVeagh (3 vols., London, 2001), ii., p. 150.
[23] Matthew Bishop, *The Life and Adventures of Matthew Bishop of Deddington in Oxfordshire. Containing an Account of Several Actions by Sea, Battles and Sieges by Land, in Which he was Present from 1701 to 1711, Interspersed with Many Curious Incidents, Entertaining Conversations and Judicious Reflections* (London, 1744), p. 219.
[24] Boyington, 'Maids, Wives and Widows', pp. 203-209.
[25] Vanbrugh, *Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, iv., p. 29. Similarly, one pro-Marlborough writer predicted in 1707 that future generations would 'run with Curiosity to see the Room where the Great General slept, the Apartment where he eat, and the Walks where he meditated', see *An Essay upon the Character of His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, in a Letter to a Gentleman in Portugal* (London, 1707), pp. 17-18.

notable that whilst the Duchess thought that what Vanbrugh said about the preservation of the manor was 'ridiculous', she admitted that the letter contained 'something material in it concerning the occasion of building Blenheim.'[26]

The Duchess also memorialised her husband at the couple's London house, Marlborough House in St James's (fig. 1.4), built with the assistance of Sir Christopher Wren and his son from 1709 to 1711 and decorated in the next couple of years with a series of murals by Louis Laguerre depicting Marlborough's famous battles. Whilst Marlborough was consulted about various aspects of the design such as the proposed layout for the pictures in the hall,[27] and ended up paying for the building,[28] this was very much the Duchess's enterprise.[29] As Marlborough remarked to her in July 1708, 'you know I have no great opinion of this project,'[30] and his priorities were evident in a letter of June 1709: 'I do wish you all happyness and speed with your building at London, but beg that may not hinder you from pressing forward the building at Bleinheim, for we are not so much master of that as of the other.'[31] Lydia Hamlett has shown how the Duchess of Marlborough created her own commemorative version of the Captain-General's exploits at Marlborough House. Compared to the *Victories* tapestries at Blenheim where the Duke strategically directed the battles from above, Laguerre's battle murals are gritty and realistic with Marlborough himself in the thick of the action. He is depicted 'as un-regal, and with a conspicuous absence of any images of the queen in the spaces they occupied. The murals no longer attempted to boast

[26] Vanbrugh, *Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, iv., p. 30.
[27] BL, Add MS 61357, fol. 55.
[28] Harris, *A Passion for Government*, pp. 149, 155-156.
[29] Boyington, 'Maids, Wives and Widows', pp. 123-130.
[30] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ii., p. 1016.
[31] *Ibid.*, iii., p. 1269.

the Duke's important position as a courtier, but rather to emphasize his ongoing sacrifice on the battlefield.'[32]

Such visual depiction was driven by particular political circumstances – the Marlboroughs' fall from grace at court and the increasing attacks on the Duke's conduct by hostile tracts such as Jonathan Swift's 1711 *Conduct of the Allies*. The Duchess was thus trying to respond to criticism of her husband by not only depicting Marlborough in a new and different way 'at a time when criticism of him relied heavily on the charge of avarice, but also, more broadly, [she] wanted to propose a new visual language that was deliberately set against the courtly elegance of Blenheim Palace and its bespoke artworks (including the *Victories* tapestries).'[33] Certainly, it is evident the Duchess wanted the details of the battle murals to be seen. As she wrote concernedly to a relative in May 1714: 'a Person very knowing (who came to see my Hous) has write me Word that the great Figures in the Hall are well of the kind, but that the Battles, which are small and at a great distance, are not strong enough painted to be well seen', and engravings of the battle murals at Marlborough house were subsequently published in 1717 to further widen their reception.[34]

Drawing attention to Marlborough House is also valuable in making the point that it is all too easy for scholars to consider the Marlboroughs simply in terms of Blenheim. Indeed, as well as Blenheim and Marlborough House, the couple also had access to residences such as Sarah's family seat of Holywell in St Albans, Hertfordshire and Windsor Lodge which Sarah held as a perk of her office of Ranger of Windsor Park. Furthermore, the Marlboroughs were voracious estate builders. In 1712, the Duke laid out £400,000 to be

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[32] Lydia Hamlett, 'Rupture Through Realism: Sarah Churchill and Louis Laguerre's Murals at Marlborough House', in Mark Hallett, Nigel Llewellyn, and Martin Myrone (eds.), *Court, Country, City: British Art and Architecture, 1660-1735* (New Haven, 2016), pp. 200-202, 207.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[34] Sarah Churchill Duchess of Marlborough, *Letters of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough: Now First Published from the Original Manuscripts at Madresfield Court*, ed. John Murray (London, 1875), p. 96; Johns, '"The British Caesar"', p. 344.

invested in land by trustees and, following the bursting of the South Sea Bubble in 1720, over £150,000 was spent by agents of the Duchess acquiring confiscated estates of disgraced South Sea Company directors.[35] For Sir John Habakkuk, the Marlboroughs are examples of estate builders who primarily acquired land for the prestige but then continued to purchase additional land for investment purposes, in turn suggesting a certain lack of confidence in paper assets.[36]

As well as the new house, the long-destroyed formal gardens also formed a central component of Blenheim. Fortunately, numerous plans of the original gardens at Blenheim survive which allow for an accurate description to be reconstructed (fig. 1.5). Behind the house was a formal parterre which led to a hexagonal wilderness with ponds and avenues cut through it known as the 'woodwork'. The parterre and wilderness were encompassed by an elevated stone walkway which was ornamented with eight round bastions. To the south-east of this fortified garden was a rectangular kitchen-garden also complete with four semi-circular bastions. Surrounding the gardens was an intricate web of tree avenues, just as there was one long Grand Avenue to the north of the house over Vanbrugh's cherished bridge.[37] Blenheim historian David Green argues that, whilst the garden designer Henry Wise contributed greatly, the overall concept of the garden can be attributed to the same person who was behind the overall concept of the house itself – John Vanbrugh.[38] Jeri Bapasola adds that there is no evidence to suggest that Marlborough himself had much input into the design, although it can be conjectured that his military exploits inspired Vanbrugh's 'martial

[35] Habakkuk, 'The Rise and Fall of English Landed Families, 1600-1800: II', p. 218; Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power*, p. 283.
[36] Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System*, p. 412.
[37] For the gardens and park, see Bodl., MS. Top. Oxon. a. 37* (Drawings of Oxfordshire collected by William Upcott), fols. 1-2; Bodl., MS. Top. Oxon. a. 50 (R) (Four plans of the garden and park layout of Blenheim Palace drawn by Henry Wise, Superintendent of gardens to Queen Anne), fols. 1-3; Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, iii., pl. 71-72. For the bridge, see Howard Colvin and Alistair Rowan, 'The Grand Bridge in Blenheim Park', in Howard Colvin (ed.), *Essays in English Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 1999), pp. 245-261.
[38] David Green, 'Blenheim: The Palace and Gardens under Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor and Wise', in James Bond and Kate Tiller (eds.), *Blenheim: Landscape for a Palace*, 2nd edn. (Stroud, 1997), p. 73.

scheme'.[39] Furthermore, the idea that the Duke may have been able to influence stylistic choices at Blenheim through methods outside the surviving correspondence cannot be ignored.[40] The military elements of the gardens at Blenheim were noted by some (but by no means all) commentators such as Thomas Salmon who in his 1743 description of the gardens referred to 'Noble Terrasses, from whence we have an extensive View of the Country, run Bastion to Bastion, which in a fortified Town would have been denominated the Curtains'.[41]

The military garden and kitchen-garden were evidently an important element of the Blenheim project for Marlborough and seemed to take up as much of his thoughts as the house itself. Whilst on campaign in Flanders, the 'excessive hotte and drye weather' of August 1706 caused Marlborough to fear that such conditions would 'do hurt to the garden at Woodstock'.[42] The following year more promising weather led Marlborough to write to the Duchess that 'If you have the same weather [at Blenheim] it must make all sortes of fruit very good' and ask if she would taste the fruit of every tree to see if any of them needed replacing.[43] In this obsession over the minutiae of a distant palatial seat, there are certain similarities between Marlborough and Louis XIV who likewise kept a close eye on garden developments at Versailles during his absences and applied 'psychological pressure' from afar.[44] That the Duchess, who played a crucial role in the supervision of the works during

[39] Jeri Bapasola, *The Finest View in England: The Landscape and Gardens at Blenheim Palace* (Woodstock, 2009), p. 19.
[40] James Legard made this point in a Q&A session of his paper 'From Castle Howard to Blenheim: New Light on the Vanbrugh-Hawksmoor Collaboration' at the Oxford Architectural History Seminar, 22 February 2016.
[41] Thomas Salmon, *The Present State of the Universities and of the Five Adjacent Counties, of Cambridge, Huntington, Bedford, Buckingham and Oxford* (London, 1743), p. 10.
[42] *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ii., p. 649.
[43] *Ibid.*, ii., pp. 820-821.
[44] Ian Thompson, *The Sun King's Garden: Louis XIV, André Le Nôtre and the Creation of the Gardens of Versailles* (London, 2006), pp. 202-203.

Marlborough's absence,[45] appreciated her husband's fondness and concern for Blenheim's gardens is suggested by surviving correspondence.[46]

The military garden's fortified design must have meant it played a role in the idea of Blenheim as monument to Marlborough's martial endeavours. In earlier schemes for the garden this may have been even more obvious. The bust of Louis XIV captured by Marlborough at the siege of Tournai in 1709 now looms over Blenheim's south front like, as Kerry Downes puts it, 'a perpetual version of the traditional head upon a stake.'[47] Robert Wellington has similarly emphasised the bust's importance as a captured artefact at Blenheim, its original purpose of representing Louis XIV's magnificence and power irreversibly altered by its new surroundings.[48] However, it was previously intended that an equestrian statue of Marlborough would be erected over Blenheim's south front (fig. 1.6),[49] and the bust of Louis XIV was apparently to be a piece of garden statuary. The travel writer John Macky wrote of his visit to Blenheim (undated but probably made in summer 1714)[50] that 'the fine Statues which the Duke brought from abroad, are to be set up [in the garden] at proper Distances, particularly that of the *French* King brought from *Tournay*: Which will be as lasting a Monument of his Grace's Conquests in the *Low Countries*, as the House is of his Reduction of *Bavaria*, and saving the [Holy Roman] Empire',[51] an empire of which Marlborough had been made a prince (complete with a short-lived territorial possession in Mindelheim, Swabia) by the Emperor as a reward for his services.[52] It was apparently not

[45] Boyington, 'Maids, Wives and Widows', pp. 117-123.
[46] For example, on 25 June 1709 Sarah wrote to one of the comptrollers that 'there can be noe Error in working on any wall that encloses the Garden, because next the house that should be first compleated', see Bodl., MS. Top. Oxon. c. 218 (Papers relating to Jacob Bobart and his family), fol. 40.
[47] Kerry Downes, *Vanbrugh* (London, 1977), p. 66.
[48] Wellington, 'A Reflection of the Sun', pp. 125-127.
[49] John Macky, *A Journey Through England. In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to his Friend Abroad* (2 vols., London, 1714-1722), ii., p. 115; Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, i., pl. 59-60.
[50] Macky, *A Journey Through England*, i., p. 127.
[51] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 117.
[52] James Legard argues that Marlborough's elevation to a sovereign prince played a crucial role in the development of Blenheim's design, see Legard, 'Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace, and the Meanings of Baroque Architecture', i., pp. 192-205, 222-230.

until the early 1720s that the bust of Louis XIV was erected over Blenheim's south front instead of the planned equestrian statue.[53] Whilst the desire to cut costs might explain the discarding of the intended scheme, James Legard argues that a key function of the equestrian statue was to celebrate Marlborough's status as a prince of the Holy Roman Empire.[54] Presumably this became less relevant following Marlborough's loss of his principality of Mindelheim in the peace negotiations ending the War of Spanish Succession. The bust of Louis XIV intended for the garden served as a suitable substitute however, and its storytelling function (along with the other martial imagery that adorns the house) certainly fits in with Vanbrugh's vision of Blenheim as a place to tell Marlborough's narrative.

II.

Clearly many commentators expected that Blenheim would serve a storytelling function. Indeed, a survey of poetry written in the years after Blenheim's commissioning proves as much.[55] For example, writer on art Bainbrigg Buckeridge wrote a poem imagining the new house at Woodstock adorned with art by the Italian painter Antonio Verrio commemorating the defeat of Bavaria and 'The num'rous Spoils from *Swabian* Conquests'.[56] The ageing Verrio had a long career painting for the Stuart monarchs but his eyesight was poor by 1704 and he died a few years later, so it is unsurprising that he was never employed at Blenheim.[57] In a similar vein, the poet William Harrison's *Woodstock Park* of 1706 pictured the walls of Blenheim being adorned with various graphic military scenes with Marlborough

[53] Bodl., MS. Top. Oxon. d. 173 (Topographical collections relating to Oxfordshire by Charles Richardson), fol. 146; Bodl., MS. Top. Oxon. c. 218, fol. 36.
[54] Legard, 'Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace, and the Meanings of Baroque Architecture', i., pp. 227-228.
[55] For poetry on Blenheim Palace, see Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture, 1681-1714* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 143-147. For a survey of eighteenth-century writings relating to Marlborough more generally, see Robert D. Horn, *Marlborough: A Survey; Panegyrics, Satires, and Biographical Writings, 1688-1788* (Folkestone, 1975).
[56] Bainbrigg Buckeridge, *On Her Majesty's Grant of Woodstock Park, &c. To His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, 1704. In a Letter to Signior Antonio Verrio at Hampton-Court* (London, 1705).
[57] Kathryn Barron, 'Verrio, Antonio (c. 1639-1707)', *ODNB*.

in pride of place.[58] And, foreshadowing the *Victories* tapestries commissioned around the same time by Marlborough, the physician and poet Sir Richard Blackmore wrote his *Instructions to Vander Bank* in 1709 that he desired John Vanderbank, a tapestry weaver working in London, to weave a series of battle tapestries for Blenheim highlighting 'What *Albion*, what Mankind to *Marlbro* owe.'[59] Blackmore's cries for '*Marlbro*'s wondrous story [to] fill the space' further underlines the storytelling function that these writers expected Blenheim's ornamentation to achieve.[60] The same can be said of the poet Leonard Welsted's reference in 1708/9 to strangers and travellers visiting Blenheim and seeing depictions of 'Kingdoms Subdu'd, and sinking Empires Sav'd', as well as 'Triumphant Figures, that at once proclaim/ The Workman's Skill, and the Great Hero's Fame.' Visitors would also, Welsted envisioned, view 'curious Plans, with nice Proportion true' depicting various scenes from the campaigns of Marlborough and his ally Prince Eugene of Savoy.[61]

At the same time, comments by some connoisseurs, including writers who were sympathetic towards Marlborough and the war, suggest that overt military symbolism at Blenheim could risk coming across as vulgar. For instance, the Whig writer Joseph Addison, who in the aftermath of the battle of Blenheim in 1704 had been commissioned by the government to write the successful pro-Marlborough poem *The Campaign*,[62] expressed regret in 1711 regarding the sculptures at Blenheim carved by Grinling Gibbons which depicted English lions tearing apart French cocks. As Addison remarked, 'Such a Device in so noble a Pile of Building looks like a Pun in an Heroic Poem; and I am very sorry the truly ingenious Architect would suffer the Statuary to blemish his excellent Plan with so poor a

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[58] William Har[r]ison, *Woodstock Park. A Poem*, 2nd edn. (London, 1706), pp. 8-9.
[59] Richard Blackmore, *Instructions to Vander Bank, A Sequel to the Advice to the Poets: A Poem, Occasion'd by the Glorious Success of Her Majesty's Arms, Under the Command of the Duke of Marlborough, the Last Year in Flandres* (London, 1709), p. 3.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[61] Leonard Welsted, *A Poem, Occasion'd by the Late Famous Victory of Audenard. Humbly Inscrib'd to the Honourable Robert Harley, Esq;* (London, 1709 [1708]), p. 9.
[62] Joseph Addison, *The Campaign, a Poem, to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1705 [1704]).

Conceit'.[63] Addison had previously written approvingly of the overall scheme for Blenheim in his opera *Rosamond* performed in 1707 which told the story of Henry II and his lover Rosamund Clifford in medieval Woodstock. At one point in Act III, the scene changed to reveal a plan of the new house under construction at Woodstock to the London audience whilst angels heralded 'the glorious Pile ascending!', a 'great Reward/ For *Anna*'s mighty Chief prepar'd'.[64] Whilst therefore Addison celebrated Blenheim as a reward for Marlborough's heroic military endeavours – and the lines referring to 'Art in curious Strokes surprizing,/ Foes in figur'd Fights contending' at Blenheim suggest some approval of martial imagery, he later seems to have judged the jingoistic lion and cock iconography at Blenheim to be an improper form of cultural expression. Similar 'polite' criticism targeted at Blenheim's lion and cock sculptures was made by an anonymous author in an article deploring the blood sport of cock throwing in *The Present State of the Republick of Letters* in 1729.[65]

Other critics focused more on Vanbrugh's idiosyncratic architecture. Admittedly, it is perhaps unsurprising that those who held Marlborough in a negative light found much to criticise in Blenheim's design. The poet Alexander Pope, who later wrote to the Earl of Orkney that Marlborough 'had meaner mixture with his great Qualities', described Blenheim as 'a most expensive absurdity' where 'the Architect built it entirely in compliance to the taste of its Owners: for it is the most inhospitable thing imaginable, and the most selfish: it has, like their own hearts, no room for strangers, and no reception for any person of superior quality to themselves.'[66] The nonjuring antiquary Thomas Hearne, who never

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[63] *The Spectator*, no. 59 (8 May 1711).
[64] Joseph Addison, *Rosamond. An Opera. Humbly Inscrib'd to Her Grace the Dutchess of Marlborough* (London, 1707), p. 28. For further analysis, see Brean S. Hammond, 'Joseph Addison's Opera Rosamond: Britishness in the Early Eighteenth-Century', *English Literary History*, vol. 73, no. 3 (Autumn 2006), pp. 601-629.
[65] 'An Enquiry into the Original Meaning of Cock-Throwing on Shrove-Tuesday. In a Letter to a Friend', *The Present State of the Republick of Letters*, vol. 3 (February 1729), pp. 94, 96.
[66] *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. George Sherburn (5 vols., Oxford, 1956), i., p. 432, iv., p. 36.

forgave Marlborough for his desertion of James II back in 1688, also disliked the house at Blenheim on his first visit in 1717, 'a sad, irregular, confused Piece of Work', though was more complimentary about the gardens and bridge.[67] He had however sneered at the Marlboroughs' alleged avarice back in 1709 at the time of Marlborough House's construction, noting that 'The ambitious Duke and Dutchess of Marlborough being not content wth the noble Palace now building at Woodstock, wch is like to cost (as it has done already) such an inestimable sum of Money to this nation, have got a grant for another near S^{t}. James's, wch is actually begun the Dutchess herself laying the first stone'.[68]

But whether a visitor liked Blenheim's architecture or not was not demarcated along party lines and, like Addison and the lion and cock sculptures, commentators more sympathetic to the Duke similarly found things to criticise. For example, Samuel Molyneux, astronomer and politician, waited on the Marlboroughs in Antwerp during their exile and wrote approvingly of the Duke in his letters. In February 1713 Molyneux visited the unfinished Blenheim but gave a decidedly mixed verdict. Whilst the north front appeared 'noble and magnificent enough' from a distance, up close 'The grand Portico is in my Opinion Clumsy and Crowded. The several Towers in the building extreamly Gothick and Superfluous, The great Face to the Avenue surprizeingly odd in my Opinion', with peculiarly proportioned pillars and unattractive statues.[69] Yet whilst Molyneux may have shared with Marlborough's enemies a dislike for some of the architectural decisions at Blenheim, he did not, as Pope did, extend this to a critique of the Duke's character. On the contrary, Molyneux lamented that 'it be by no means finish'd not even the Shell and indeed I fear is like to continue so and

[67] Thomas Hearne, *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, eds. C. E. Doble, D. W. Rannie, and H. E. Salter (11 vols., Oxford, 1885-1921), ii., p. 265, vi., p. 57.
[68] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 204.
[69] Samuel Molyneux, *The London Letters of Samuel Molyneux, 1712-13 with an Introduction and Commentary by Paul Holden*, ed. Ann Saunders (London, 2011), p. 116.

to remain as little an Honour to the Nation as to the Builder that undertook it'.[70] Echoing Molyneux, the Scottish army officer Colonel Charles Cathcart remarked after a visit to Blenheim in 1730 that the house 'only pleased me as it is a mark of the nation's gratitude to keep up the remembrance of so great a man. I wish the great sum of money had been laid out with more skill.'[71] In other words, whilst Marlborough supporters such as Molyneux may not have personally cared for many of the design choices at Blenheim, that did not stop them wishing for the project's completion so as to satisfy the honour of both the nation-at-large and, presumably, Marlborough himself. Indeed, their aesthetic dislike of Blenheim is unsurprising. As tastes changed and Burlingtonian Palladianism became the mainstream architectural style, Vanbrugh's heavy architecture was frequently lambasted by eighteenth-century commentators. Later critics include Horace Walpole who in 1760 referred to Blenheim as 'execrable within, without, & almost all round', and the agriculturalist Arthur Young who displayed similar contempt in 1768.[72]

More pleasing from the point of view of many connoisseurs would have been the Old Masters paintings that Marlborough collected during his military campaigns. One of his most prized pieces was a 1630s equestrian portrait of Charles I by Anthony van Dyck that had come into the hands of one of Louis XIV's allies, Elector Maximilian II of Bavaria. Following Maximilian II's defeat, Emperor Joseph presented the portrait to Marlborough as a gift and he evidently had great pride in it. As the Duke remarked from Rotterdam to the Duchess in the autumn of 1706: 'I am so fond of some pictures I shall bring with mee, that I could wish you had a place for them til the gallerie at Woodstock be finished, for it is certain that there are not in England so fine pictures as some of these, particularly King Charles on

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[70] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[71] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., pp. 167-168.
[72] Paget Toynbee, 'Horace Walpole's Journals of Visits to Country Seats, &c.' *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, vol. 16 (1927-1928), p. 26; Arthur Young, *A Six Weeks Tour, Through the Southern Counties of England and Wales* (London, 1768), pp. 92-96. In the latter part of the century, artists and architects such as the painter Sir Joshua Reynolds began to restore Vanbrugh's reputation, see Brooks and Sherwood, *Oxfordshire: North and West*, pp. 157-158.

horseback done by Vandick.'[73] The engraver and antiquary George Vertue thought very highly of Blenheim's art collection, commenting of one visit around 1730 that he had gone 'to Blenhiem to see the house and pictures, – which pictures are well worth seeing.'[74]

Despite the monumental, militarised, and, as these criticisms suggest, sometimes controversial nature of Blenheim, it is evident that one of its main appeals to Marlborough was simply as a place of retirement and relaxation with the Duchess. His letters to her when on campaign frequently yearned for the house's completion so that they could enjoy some time there, though as the years wore on this became increasingly desperate. However, although Marlborough's enthusiasm for Blenheim flagged at times,[75] the Duchess's relief in October 1710 that he had overcome 'his passion' for Blenheim, 'the greatest weakness my Lord Marlborough ever had,' proved to be short-lived.[76] For instance, by August 1711 Marlborough was writing to Godolphin that his one remaining ambition in life was to see Blenheim completed so 'that I might live quiet some few yeares in itt, with my friends.'[77]

Marlborough's pining for a 'few yeares' at Blenheim is a common theme in his letters to the Duchess where he often evoked his own mortality. For example, in October 1706 Marlborough complained that 'the great fault I find [in Blenheim] is that I shal never live to see it finished,'[78] in July 1707 he wrote that 'I am afraid my life will be to[o] short for the seeing the house finished',[79] and in October 1707 he mused that, should he continue to serve in the army until peace was achieved, 'that must take upp [a] great part of my life'.[80]

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[73] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ii., pp. 723-724. The portrait was initially hung in Marlborough House before being transferred to Blenheim by the 1730s.
[74] George Vertue, 'Vertue Note Books: Volume I', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, vol. 18 (1929-1930), p. 4.
[75] In October 1710 Marlborough remarked to the Duchess that 'Whielst Lord Treasurer [Godolphin] was in and I had the Queen's favour, I was very earnest to have had it finished; but as it is, I am proven very indifferent', see *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, iii., p. 1651.
[76] *Ibid.*, iii., p. 1650.
[77] *Ibid.*, iii., p. 1677.
[78] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 695.
[79] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 853.
[80] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 934.

Similarly, as the Duchess remarked in July 1710 to Henry Joynes, Marlborough had been led to hope by Vanbrugh that the hall and saloon would be covered that year and now 'hee expresses a good deal of concern att the thought that it will not, saying his life will not bee long enough to injoy much of the hous, if it is not carry'd up as fast as it can bee'.[81] Whilst Marlborough would naturally have been stalked by death on campaign – losing men in battle or to disease, the most likely interpretation of this frank discussion of mortality is simply that, in light of his advancing years and political uncertainties, the Duke was impatient and considered it an effective way to encourage the works' progression. As Frances Harris notes, Marlborough was desirous to have Blenheim completed whilst he remained in good standing at court which explains why he wanted everything to proceed as quickly as possible.[82]

Such urgency is also seen in Marlborough's demands to have a ready-made garden. Macky noted in the second edition of his *Journey Through England* that Henry Wise was asked by Marlborough to 'consider, he was an old Man, and could not expect to live till the Trees were grown up; and therefore he expected to have a Garden as it were ready made for him. Accordingly, Mr. *Wise* transplanted thither full-grown Trees in Baskets, which he bury'd in the Earth; which look and thrive the same, as if they had stood there 30 or 40 Years.'[83] This anecdote is borne out by the estate accounts which record the delivery of large trees to Woodstock and the uprooting and replanting at Blenheim of trees from the countryside and other estates.[84] Blenheim may have been a statement of Marlborough's achievements to be handed down to posterity, but in the short term it is evident that the Duke also prized it as a place of personal retirement.

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[81] BL, Add MS 19606 (Papers and correspondence of Henry Joynes), fol. 30.
[82] Frances Harris, 'Parliament and Blenheim Palace: The House of Lords Appeal of 1721', *Parliamentary History*, vol. 8, pt. 1 (1989), p. 45.
[83] John Macky, *A Journey Through England. In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to his Friend Abroad*, 2nd edn. (2 vols., London, 1722-1724), ii., p. 108.
[84] Bodl., MS. Top. Oxon. c. 230 (Blenheim building accounts, October-December 1708), fols. 28, 37-38.

Marlborough's peaceful retirement at Blenheim was yet another theme that provoked literary response. For instance, in George Jeffreys's *On Blenheim-House*, possibly written as early as 1706, reference is made to '*Blenheim*'s lofty tow'rs/ and calm retreat!' where Marlborough could spend his time 'In thy soft shades, his softer hours to lose;/ To prune the vine, or prop the drooping flow'r,' in the company of his daughters.[85] Several years after Marlborough's death, family themes were also played upon by George Lyttelton (later 1st Baron Lyttelton), a nephew of Lord Cobham with literary ambitions, in his Blenheim poem published in 1728. Lyttelton drew attention to the Duke's repose 'from the Toils of War and State, Splendidly Private, and the tranquil Joy/ Of Contemplation felt' at his Woodstock seat.[86] After making favourable comparison with the illustrious 1st century BC Roman statesman and general Lucullus who 'enrich'd with Spoils/ Of conquer'd Nations, back return'd to *Rome*,/ And in magnificent Retirement spent/ The Evening of his Life', Lyttelton also highlighted the domestic side of Marlborough's retirement and his close relationship with his wife the Duchess, a companion for 'his softer Hours,/ With whom conversing, he forgot all change/ Of Fortune, or of State, and in her Mind/ Found Greatness equal to his own'.[87] Jeffreys's and Lyttelton's emphasis on family tapped into a trend Andrew Lincoln identifies as beginning in the later seventeenth-century where eulogists highlighted military men's social and moral qualities as well as their martial courage and ability. Indeed, pro-Marlborough writers made much of the Duke's virtuous personal traits during Anne's reign to deflect hostile Tory critiques.[88]

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[85] George Jeffreys, *Miscellanies, in Verse and Prose* (London, 1754), p. 17; Horn, *Marlborough: A Survey*, pp. 228, 559.
[86] George Lyttelton Baron Lyttelton, *Bleinheim* (London, 1728), p. 3. For Lyttelton, see Christine Gerrard, 'Lyttelton, George, First Baron Lyttelton (1709-1773)', *ODNB*.
[87] Lyttelton, *Bleinheim*, p. 4.
[88] Lincoln, 'The Culture of War and Civil Society', pp. 462-463. For Marlborough's public image, see Tony Claydon, 'A European General in the English Press: The Print Image of Marlborough in the Stuart Realms', in John B. Hattendorf, Augustus J. Veenendaal Jr, and Rolof van Hövell tot Westerflier (eds.), *Marlborough: Soldier and Diplomat* (Rotterdam, 2012), pp. 300-319; Hargraves, 'The Public Image of John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough', pp. 177-194.

As Lyttelton's comparison of Marlborough to Lucullus suggests, themes of classical retirement were played on by poets. This complemented the comparisons to other classical heroes made in pro-Marlborough panegyrics such as the generals Scipio Africanus and Belisarius, both of whom (like Marlborough) were supposedly treated ungratefully by their contemporaries.[89] In 1708/9, Leonard Welsted remarked of Marlborough's return to Blenheim once peace was established that 'The Victor (as of old the *Latian* Hind,/ That was Dictator, conquer'd and resign'd)/ To those much fam'd Recesses shall retreat'.[90] The Latin dictator that Welsted was evoking was Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, a Roman landowner who had assumed absolute powers in the Roman Republic's time of crisis in 5th century BC but had willingly resigned these powers and returned to his farm after the emergency was over. Admittedly, attempting to compare Marlborough and his vast pile at Blenheim with humbler classical examples had the potential to be ridiculed. Perhaps realising this, the author of one funeral poem in 1722 decided not to mention Blenheim and instead drew attention to the fact that Marlborough had died in the relatively more modest environment of the lodge in Windsor Park: 'So *Rome*'s Dictator a Retirement Chose,/ After his Conquests o'er the *Roman*'s Foes;/ And stead of Palaces sublime and great,/ Liv'd and expir'd in a small Country Seat.'[91]

As a prime example of a virtuous military leader, it is unsurprising that these authors sought to associate Marlborough with Cincinnatus. It would also have had the effect of portraying the Duke as a courageous citizen-soldier in the classical mould. Anti-standing army authors of the 1690s such as John Trenchard who championed the revival of the militia used similar language.[92] As Trenchard argued in 1697, 'we find amongst the *Romans* the best

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[89] Tobias Roeder, 'Scipio or Crassus? The Contested Heroic Image of John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722)', *Journal for the Society of Army Historical Research*, vol. 96, no. 385 (Spring 2018), pp. 9-10.
[90] Welsted, *A Poem, Occasion'd by the Late Famous Victory of Audenard*, p. 8.
[91] *A Funeral Poem, Sacred to the Memory of the Most Noble John Churchill, Duke and Earl of Marlborough* (London, 1722).
[92] Banister, *Masculinity, Militarism and Eighteenth-Century Culture*, pp. 17-18.

and bravest of their Generals came from the Plough, contentedly returning when the Work was over'.[93] By deploying the same language as these earlier authors, pro-Marlborough panegyrics in the eighteenth century were presumably trying to make Marlborough a more admirable figure by viewing him as part of a classical civic tradition rather than just an admittedly very talented professional soldier.

Of course, critics of Marlborough were unlikely to be won over by this classically-inspired language of peaceful retirement on the country estate. In the fourth epistle of his *Essay on Man*, Alexander Pope scathingly alluded to the Duke and Duchess's retirement at Blenheim by his reference to 'Some greedy minion, or imperious Wife' who slumbered 'in the pompous Shade' amidst 'trophy'd Arches' and 'story'd Halls'.[94] Even in the verse more favourable to Marlborough it can be difficult to say whether an author was spurred into action by heartfelt pro-Marlborough sentiment or more commercial reasons. The need to earn a living or cultivate patrons would have provided ample motivation for many. The already-quoted Leonard Welsted could easily fall under this category. Welsted was a prolific writer who gravitated from the Tories to the Whigs and was much lampooned by Pope in *The Dunciad* and other satires for his subservience to patrons.[95] In short, due to the fame of Marlborough and his house, even something as ostensibly innocuous as the Duke's retirement generated a body of literary material written with various personal and political motivations in mind.

III.

It is difficult to overstate Marlborough's military and political clout in the early eighteenth-century. During his tenure as Captain-General during the War of Spanish Succession (1702-

[93] John Trenchard, *An Argument, Shewing, that a Standing Army is Inconsistent with a Free Government, and Absolutely Destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy* (London, 1697), p. 7.
[94] Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man, Being the First Book of Ethic Epistles. To Henry St. John, L. Bolingbroke* (London, 1734), p. 62; Pat Rogers, *The Alexander Pope Encyclopedia* (Westport and London, 2004), p. 34.
[95] James Sambrook, 'Welsted, Leonard (bap. 1688, d. 1747)', *ODNB*.

1711), Marlborough's powers of military patronage were immense, and he wielded great influence over the higher promotions of army officers. Indeed, certain officers can be distinctly identified as particular favourites of Marlborough.[96] To examine how successfully early eighteenth-century senior officers settled into elite landed life, it is therefore necessary to study those officers who prospered the most under Marlborough's protection and reached the upper ranks of the army. Marlborough's chief favourite was William Cadogan, 1st Earl Cadogan (1671/2-1726) (fig. 1.7). Cadogan, the son of a Dublin barrister and grandson of a Welsh soldier and settler in Ireland, was well-placed in the Marlborough network having become acquainted with the Earl of Marlborough (as he was styled between 1689 and 1702) in Ireland during the Nine Years' War. In the War of Spanish Succession Cadogan held the vital logistical role of Quartermaster-General on Marlborough's staff (fig. 1.8), and rose from brevet colonel in 1701 to lieutenant-general in 1709.[97] As Cadogan put it himself to the Earl of Oxford when joining Marlborough in exile at the end of 1712, accompanying the Duke was 'an indispensable duty on me, who for so many years have been honoured with his confidence and friendship, and [I owe?] all I have in the world to his favour.'[98]

Cadogan was the most successful of Marlborough's (often Irish) favourites and forged a noteworthy political career for himself after the Hanoverian Succession (particularly during the 1717-1721 Stanhope-Sunderland ministry), being raised to the peerage as Baron Cadogan in June 1716 and Earl Cadogan in May 1718, sworn into the Privy Council, holding offices such as Master of the Robes (1714-d.), Governor of the Isle of Wight (1715-d.), and Master-General of the Ordnance (1722-1725), as well as being posted on a number of

[96] Holmes, *Augustan England*, pp. 268-269.
[97] For Cadogan's and other officers' roles on Marlborough's staff, see A. A. Hanham, 'Marlborough's Staff (act. 1702–1711)', *ODNB*.
[98] *Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, K.G., Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, ed. Historical Manuscripts Commission (10 vols., London, 1891-1931), v., p. 258.

military and diplomatic assignments.[99] In the process, Cadogan acquired vast riches. Much of this fortune must have derived from the profitable ventures and speculation (such as the manipulation of exchange rates) that Cadogan engaged in during the War of Spanish Succession alongside the army paymaster James Brydges (1674-1744, later 1st Duke of Chandos).[100] Certainly, in 1724 the French ambassador to Britain noted Cadogan's 'immense wealth' and observed that 'He keeps up his respectability only by the fortune he has amassed in the wars, and the revenues of his offices.'[101] Cadogan also had a reputation for ostentatiousness. Whether entirely accurate or not, it is telling that one report of his death in 1726 had it that Cadogan 'dyed in top dress, & kept on him to the last, his Great Wig, Imbroydered Coat, Brocad Vest, Ried topt Shoes, diamont Buckles etc.'[102]

Two other Irish officers who flourished under Marlborough's leadership during the War of Spanish Succession and were often mentioned in the same breath as Cadogan were Thomas Meredyth (aft. 1661-1719) (fig. 1.9) and Francis Palmes (d. 1719) (fig. 1.10). Like Cadogan, both were swiftly promoted and reached the rank of lieutenant-general in 1709. However, neither of them managed to enrich themselves or build great estates to the same extent as the Quartermaster-General.[103] In contrast to Cadogan's profitable wartime economic activities, Meredyth made an unlucky speculative decision when he entrusted his savings of £10,000 to the merchant and South Sea Company director Francis Stratford. As Jonathan Swift and the Countess of Strafford reported in March 1712, Stratford had completely mismanaged the investment and lost all of Meredyth's money, although the

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[99] This biographical information derives from James Falkner, 'Cadogan, William, Earl Cadogan (1671/2-1726)', *ODNB*; Richard Hawkins, 'Cadogan, William Earl Cadogan', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009); A. A. Hanham, 'Cadogan, William (c.1671-1726), of Caversham, Berks. and Jermyn Street, Westminster', *HoC 1690-1715*; Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Cadogan, William (?1671-1726)', *HoC 1715-1754*.

[100] Davies, 'The Seamy Side of Marlborough's War', pp. 21-44; Stansfield, 'Early Modern Systems of Command', pp. 81-115; Graham, *Corruption, Party, and Government in Britain*, pp. 97-232 *passim*.

[101] William Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford* (3 vols., London, 1798), ii., p. 304.

[102] *More Culloden Papers*, ed. Duncan Warrand (5 vols., Inverness, 1923-1930), iii., p. 8.

[103] Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Palmes, Francis (d. 1719), of Charlton, Kent', *HoC 1690-1715*; Stuart Handley, 'Meredyth, Thomas (aft.1661-1719), of Chelsea, Mdx.', *HoC 1690-1715*.

Irishman apparently recovered some of it after petitioning James Brydges.[104] Despite this setback, Meredyth, who hailed from a Meath gentry family, was able to build up a respectable landed estate by the end of his life. His will refers to an estate in Oxfordshire as well as an 'Estate I have purchased or agreed to purchase from Thomas Carter Esqr Subject to a Mortgage of Nine hundred pounds or thereabouts'.[105]

Palmes, details about whose family are unclear, ended his life in more modest circumstances. His will written shortly before his death in Dresden (where he was British envoy to Poland) in January 1719 refers to having left in his desk at the Kilmainham Hospital in Dublin (where he had been Master since 1715) 'a paper signifying how I would have the little disposed of I was then possessed of'. However, recent expenditure 'makes that said Will ineffectual and those annuities and Jewells sold'. His landed estate consisted only of his 'little house at Charlton [near Greenwich] surrounded with good Neighbours where my Friends used to laugh and I also' which, after his debts were paid, he bequeathed to his brother.[106] Whilst he may not have lived in a palace however, Palmes seems to have lived in comfort in Greenwich and formed part of a lively military community in an increasingly fashionable district. John Macky noted in 1713 that at Blackheath in Greenwich 'are several Gentlemen's Seats very fine' including 'Lieutenant-General *Withers*, General *Palms*, Brigadier *Richards*, and several others whom we have known abroad, have each their pleasant Retreats here.'[107] Similarly, in the 1720s Daniel Defoe remarked on the number of old army officers of varying ranks who had retired to Greenwich and 'having thus chosen this calm Retreat, live here in as much Honour and Delight as this World can give.'[108]

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[104] Swift, *Journal to Stella*, p. 399; *The Wentworth Papers, 1705-1739: Selected from the Private and Family Correspondence of Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby, Created in 1711 Earl of Strafford, of Stainborough, Co. York*, ed. James J. Cartwright (London, 1883), p. 274; Handley, 'Meredyth, Thomas (aft.1661-1719), of Chelsea, Mdx.', *HoC 1690-1715*.
[105] TNA, PROB 11/573/232 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills), fols. 138-139.
[106] TNA, PROB 11/568/88, fols. 46-47.
[107] Macky, *A Journey Through England*, i., p. 45.
[108] Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, i., p. 136.

The debt and obligations that Marlborough's favourites owed to the Duke for his protection and patronage were noted by contemporaries such as the Duchess of Marlborough's 'secretary', the Whig MP Arthur Maynwaring. In 1709, Maynwaring wrote to the Duchess of the current negotiations at the Admiralty, where the Whigs wanted Admiral Edward Russell, 1st Earl of Orford appointed as First Lord. Maynwaring explained to the Duchess that 'everybody' (i.e. the Whigs) hoped to see the Whig navy officers Sir George Byng and Sir John Jennings serve on the new Admiralty commission under Orford, describing them as 'the particular friends and servants of Lord Orford and raised by him'. Maynwaring argued that Byng and Jennings would be fiercely criticised by their friends if they were to serve on a commission from which their patron Orford had been left out. To reinforce his point, Maynwaring drew a parallel with the Duchess's husband, imagining a hypothetical army commission where it was proposed to exclude Marlborough and include 'some of those that had been raised by him; such as Mr. Cadogan, Palmes, or the like. I confess, for my own part, if they took it, I should think they deserved to be hanged, and should be ready to give my helping hand to it, without staying till they had committed any faults in their office.'[109]

The perceived favouritism of so important a patron as Marlborough unsurprisingly created tension. For example, Ian Roy argues that the wartime demand for good-quality officers resulted in a gifted but diverse officer corps which included men of more middling or alien backgrounds whose rise to prominence under Marlborough agitated country gentlemen back home.[110] However, it is also clear that Marlborough's favouritism caused friction within the allied army too. As a Scottish officer, Major James Cranstoun of the Cameronians, noted in October 1705, the Dutch officers 'and others also complain a little

[109] *Private Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, Illustrative of the Court and Times of Queen Anne; With her Sketches and Opinions of her Contemporaries, and the Select Correspondence of her Husband, John, Duke of Marlborough* (2 vols., London, 1838), i., pp. 194-195.
[110] Roy, 'The Profession of Arms', p. 208.

that the Duke does not advise so much either with the officers of experience and in the highest characters of his own and the States army as with two or three favourites whom he himself has raised, such as Brigadier Cadogan, Brigadier Palmes, and Brigadier Meredith, who are men of little service and experience.'[111] Later that month, after the sudden death of the Cameronians' colonel, Cranstoun commented that one of the candidates to fill the vacancy was the Irishman Colonel George Macartney (c. 1660-1730), 'who having but a new raised regiment which must probably be broke at the peace, he seeks to obtain ours, and has found the way to get Brigadiers Cadogan, Meredith, and Palmes to recommend him, and they you know are looked on with us as the three great favourites with the Duke.'[112] Similarly, Robert Harley was informed in August 1710 that Benjamin Sweet, the army's Deputy Paymaster in Amsterdam, 'has got lately very much the favour of the whole army, especially of the Duke of Argyll, Lord Orkney, Lumley, and Ross, having opposed Cadogan, who is hated as all the Irish favourites are.'[113] Argyll in particular became a fierce military rival of Cadogan after the Hanoverian Succession. Their relationship when leading the counteroffensive against the Jacobites in Scotland in 1715/16 bordered on the dysfunctional,[114] and in late June 1716 there was talk that Argyll had sent a duelling challenge to Cadogan.[115]

The hostility towards Marlborough's Irish favourites may have been exacerbated by their Irish 'otherness'. Certainly, Cadogan picked up nicknames and connotations based on his birth. Even one of his colleagues, Secretary of State James Craggs the Younger,

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[111] *HMC Portland*, iv., p. 255.
[112] *Ibid.*, iv., p. 265. The Irish favourites' influence had its limits however - rather than Macartney, the vacancy was filled by the Cameronians' lieutenant-colonel who had the regiment's backing, see Sanghvi, 'Gentlemen of Leisure or Vital Professionals?', p. 107.
[113] *HMC Portland*, iv., p. 573. Relations between Cadogan and Sweet were poor, see Graham, *Corruption, Party, and Government in Britain*, pp. 97, 100, 109, 127-131, 209.
[114] For Cadogan complaining to Marlborough about Argyll's behaviour in Scotland in February 1716, see William Coxe, *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough, with his Original Correspondence*, rev. edn., ed. John Wade (3 vols., London, 1847-1848), iii., pp. 392-393.
[115] Mary, Countess Cowper, *Diary of Mary Countess Cowper, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales, 1714-1720* (London, 1864), p. 109.

exasperatingly wrote to the 2nd Earl of Stair in March 1719 that Cadogan 'has a notion of being *premier ministre*, which, I believe, you will with me think a very Irish one'. Craggs claimed that Cadogan had been interfering with business outside his jurisdiction and cultivated a following.[116] Similarly, the Scottish lawyer Duncan Forbes received letters derogatively describing Cadogan from his brother John Forbes and Brigadier-General Alexander Grant (all of whom were associates of the Duke of Argyll) in July 1716. Grant referred to Cadogan as an 'Irish Mastif who wears a green string', meaning the green ribbon of the Order of the Thistle which Cadogan had recently been awarded. Continuing his disparaging canine comparison, Grant claimed that he had encountered 'the impudent Curr' Cadogan in Chelsea where he 'had a strong pick at him, but being musled he did no harm, so I hope his barck is not poisonous whatever his byte might have been.'[117]

Marlborough's relationship with his favourites was not just confined to his trust in them on campaign. He also did his best to secure governorships and other such appointments for them at home or abroad. For instance, upon mistakenly believing that the Governor of Berwick-upon-Tweed had died in 1705, Marlborough petitioned Godolphin to get Palmes appointed in his place.[118] Whilst, there in fact being no vacancy, this did not occur, Marlborough did successfully help Palmes secure a number of diplomatic appointments. As an informant wrote to the French politician Michel Chamillart at the end of 1707, 'You will agree that the Irish are more fortunate than the Scotch notwithstanding the Union when you learn that Mr. Palmes, one of the favourites of my Lord Marlborough, has just been named envoy-extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy'.[119] Marlborough's followers could also hope to benefit from the Duke's patronage in political offices. Cadogan, most

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[116] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., p. 103.
[117] *More Culloden Papers*, ii., pp. 131-133. Duncan Forbes was a critic of Cadogan himself and in 1716 sent an anonymous letter to Walpole criticising Cadogan's record in Scotland, see *Culloden Papers: Comprising an Extensive and Interesting Correspondence from the Year 1625 to 1748*, ed. H. R. Duff (London, 1815), pp. 61-65.
[118] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, i., pp. 445, 454.
[119] *HMC Portland*, iv., p. 469.

notably, served as MP for Woodstock (where Marlborough cultivated an electoral interest following his acquisition of the manor) from 1705 until his elevation to the peerage in 1716. As Marlborough commented in the run-up to the 1710 election, he hoped to see both Cadogan and another Whig army officer, James Stanhope, elected as he 'shall this winter expect more assistance in 87 [House of Commons] from 197 [Cadogan] and 202 [Stanhope] then from any other numbers, for thay have both honesty and corage to speak truth. So that I do earnestly desire that these two men may be chose preferable to all others'.[120] Of course, being politically affiliated with Marlborough was a double-edged sword and his followers' criticism of the new ministry formed by Robert Harley in August 1710 following the dismissal of Godolphin was dealt with decisively. For example, Jonathan Swift alleged in December 1710 that the Marlboroughite army officers Meredyth, Macartney, and Philip Honywood (c. 1677-1752) had engaged in 'mutinous meetings' and been forced out of the army 'for drinking Destruction to the present ministry, and dressing up a hat on a stick, and calling it Harley; then drinking a glass with one hand, and discharging a pistol with the other at the maukin [an effigy], wishing it were Harley himself; and a hundred other such pretty tricks, as enflaming their soldiers, and foreign ministers, against the late changes at Court.'[121] For those like Swift who were wary of military men's involvement in affairs of state, such instances were evidence 'that Politicks are not their Business or their Element.'[122]

That is not to say those closely associated with Marlborough always showed unqualified loyalty to their general. For example, Palmes tried to curry favour with Harley in 1711 presumably to save his fledgling diplomatic career though no more assignments were forthcoming. Palmes's links with the increasingly beleaguered Marlborough were evidently

[120] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, iii., pp. 1590-1591. For elections in Woodstock in this period, see A. A. Hanham, 'New Woodstock', *HoC 1690-1715*.
[121] Swift, *Journal to Stella*, pp. 86-87. Even if Swift's version of events was embellished, the courtier Peter Wentworth also made note of this incident, see *The Wentworth Papers,* pp. 162-164.
[122] *The Examiner*, vol. 1, issue 21 (21 December 1710).

too strong for him to redefine himself in the last years of Anne's reign and in April 1713 Swift wrote that Palmes was going to be forced to sell his regiment.[123] The careers of those with weaker connections to Marlborough were naturally more able to adapt to changing times. For instance, Marlborough helped to secure the Irish Lieutenant-General Richard Ingoldsby's (1664/5-1712)[124] position of one of the Lords Justices of Ireland in 1709, writing that year that he was 'very glad my endeavours to do you justice have succeeded to your satisfaction, to which you may depend upon my being ever ready to contribute all that is in my power'.[125] However, Ingoldsby, an experienced general officer rather than one of Marlborough's protégés, was more than capable of detaching himself from the Duke's orbit. In the following years he seems to have turned towards an alternative patron — the Lord-Lieutenant (and Marlborough's successor as Captain-General) James Butler, 2nd Duke of Ormonde (1665-1745). Indeed, Ormonde wrote to the Earl of Oxford in October 1711 singing Ingoldsby's praises and suggested he be made an Irish viscount, though the latter's death early the following year prevented this from materialising.[126]

Despite the deaths of Palmes and Meredyth in 1719, the network of old Marlboroughite officers continued to play a political and military role into the 1720s. For example, Cadogan quite openly sought to succeed his old patron Marlborough in his military offices. After previously hearing Marlborough was on the verge of death, Cadogan wrote

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[123] Cruickshanks, 'Palmes, Francis (d. 1719), of Charlton, Kent', *HoC 1690-1715*; Swift, *Journal to Stella*, p. 526.

[124] H. M. Chichester, 'Ingoldsby, Richard (1664/5-1712)', rev. Kenneth Ferguson, *ODNB*; Patrick A. Walsh, and Daniel Beaumont, 'Ingoldsby, Richard', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009).

[125] Churchill, *The Letters and Dispatches of John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough*, iv., p. 638. Marlborough had previously written approvingly of Ingoldsby's character and capabilities, see *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, i., pp. 77-78, 97, 101.

[126] *HMC Portland*, v., p. 102. For Ormonde's powers of military patronage, see D. W. Hayton, 'Dependence, Clientage and Affinity: The Political Following of the Second Duke of Ormonde', in T. C. Barnard and Jane Fenlon (eds.), *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 232-233. For the Irish military establishment more generally, see Alan J. Guy, 'The Irish Military Establishment, 1660-1776', in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (eds.), *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 211-230.

rather shamelessly from The Hague to his colleague Charles Spencer, 3rd Earl of Sunderland in February 1720:

> I assure your Lordship that no body living rejoyses more sincerely att the Duke of Marlboroughs Recovery, nor wishes more heartily the continuance of his Health than my self. When I writ to your Lordship about the Mastership of the Ordnance, I had heard that his Grace was att the last extremity, which made me take the liberty to put your Lordship in mind of the Promise you had been so kind to give me of your Protection and assistance, whenever that Employment should be vacant.[127]

Once Marlborough finally did die on 16 June 1722, Cadogan went on the offensive. According to the Tory Dr William Stratford of Christ Church, after hearing of Marlborough's death Cadogan summoned a group of army officers who 'are said to be his Cabinet.' The group consisted of Macartney, Honywood, Lieutenant-General Charles Wills (1666-1741), and Colonel Sir Adolphus Oughton (1684?-1736) who was lieutenant-colonel in Cadogan's regiment and had been Marlborough's aide-de-camp during his exile. Stratford reported that Cadogan's cabinet had resolved that he should ask to be Captain-General or, if that was unsuccessful, Master-General of the Ordnance and given the colonelcy of the first regiment of foot guards, with Macartney being given the colonelcy of the second regiment. However, Cadogan's cabinet had mixed success. Cadogan failed to succeed Marlborough as Captain-General which was instead made dormant, although he received the Ordnance and the first regiment of foot guards. Furthermore, the second regiment of foot guards was given instead to the Prince of Wales's favourite Richard Lumley, 2nd Earl of Scarbrough (1686-1740) rather than Macartney, a scandal-prone spendthrift who died in 1730 in dire financial circumstances.[128] Cadogan's subsequent attempt in 1723 to style himself commander-in-chief also ended in failure.[129] Within a few years Cadogan was himself dead and it is difficult

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[127] BL, Add MS 61494, fol. 13.
[128] *HMC Portland*, vii., p. 329; Holmes, *Augustan England*, p. 272; Sanghvi, 'Gentlemen of Leisure or Vital Professionals?', pp. 54, 77, 136-137. Macartney is most famous for his involvement in the notorious 1712 Hamilton-Mohun duel where he was alleged to have dealt the final blow to the wounded Duke of Hamilton.
[129] Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline*, p. 28.

to detect further collective activity of the Marlboroughite officers as a political or military group. Nevertheless, whether during the political turmoil at the end of Anne's reign or following the death of Marlborough in 1722, the officers he patronised can be seen to have acted together as a faction.

IV.

Of Marlborough's key favourites, Cadogan made the most important contribution to country house building and gardening, as well as the patronage of artists. Cadogan wasted little time buying land with his gains and acquired the manor of Oakley in Buckinghamshire in 1707,[130] not far from his patron's great house and his own parliamentary seat at Woodstock. Cadogan later purchased and remodelled the Caversham estate near Reading around the same time as he was acquiring aristocratic titles and other offices under the Hanoverians. This became his main country seat. A man of Cadogan's wealth and prominence was an attractive target for architects looking for a commission or an Office of Works place. Colen Campbell's design for an eleven-bay house built 'in the *Pallatial* Stile, where a large Rustick Basement supports an *Ionick* Colonade' inscribed to Cadogan in the second volume of his *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1717) would have been aimed at securing his patronage (fig. 1.11).[131] This attempt failed however, and the actual construction and appearance of Cadogan's new mansion at Caversham built c. 1718-1723 unfortunately remains something of a mystery in the absence of surviving building papers or elevations.[132] However, some idea of Cadogan's taste (or lack of) is given in travellers' descriptions. The Scottish politician and lawyer Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 2nd Baronet, visited in 1727 shortly after Cadogan's death and saw

[130] George Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham* (4 vols., London, 1847), i., p. 354.
[131] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, ii., pp. 5-6, pl. 98-100; T. P. Connor, 'The Making of "Vitruvius Britannicus"', *Architectural History*, vol. 20 (1977), p. 24.
[132] For Caversham, see Geoffrey Tyack, Simon Bradley, and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Berkshire* (New Haven and London, 2010), pp. 482-483.

> a vast expense but Laid out without either taste or judgement the House consists of various parts irregularly put together as his Losp's fancy or occasions requir'd the front in all may be near 200 feet but the avenue which faces it, is not above 20 feet wide, some parts of the house are finish'd in with a cornice & some not, however the Rooms are Large & not bad. the Garden Room is very Large handsome & well proportion'd. of about 60 feet Long & 30 broad so near as I cou'd guess the wainscoating is of Cedar the chimnie & buf[f]et of Marble very Large & well wrought. The roof of Stuko work & the ornaments gilt.[133]

Admittedly Clerk was quite the connoisseur, but even so his more critical observations suggest that Cadogan was not a country house builder particularly well-versed in the finer points of architecture.

Compared with the house, the gardens at Caversham are better documented and are depicted in the third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1725) (fig. 1.12).[134] An unsigned contract dated 21 April 1718 indicates they were designed by Stephen Switzer[135] (who had previously been employed at Blenheim)[136] although the work was apparently executed by Thomas Acres, the nephew of the gardener and nurseryman George London.[137] Certainly, when in 1722 John Macky described Caversham in the second edition of his *Journey Through England* the site was a work-in-progress, with Macky remarking that Caversham would be one of England's finest seats when Cadogan's 'Avenues, gravel Walks, Gardens, and other Plantations, are finish'd'.[138]

A tree-lined avenue approached the house from the north, and similar straight avenues existed to the south of the house. Remnants of these formal avenues were retained and integrated into 'Capability' Brown's new scheme when he remodelled the landscape for Cadogan's successor at Caversham, his younger brother and fellow soldier Charles, 2nd Baron

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[133] NRS, GD18/2107 (Papers of Clerk family of Penicuik, Midlothian), fol. 13.
[134] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, iii., pl. 96-97.
[135] BRO, D/EX258/9 (Miscellaneous documents). The landscaping included digging canals, levelling the earth and creating terrace walks, turfing and gravelling, planting trees etc. and was projected to take place from April to November 1718 with £1392. 4s. 9d. to be paid in installations.
[136] Legard, 'Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace, and the Meanings of Baroque Architecture', i., p. 122.
[137] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, iii., p. 12; Brogden, *Ichnographia Rustica*, pp. 123-124.
[138] Macky, *A Journey Through England*, 2nd edn., i., p. 53.

Cadogan (1685-1776), later in the century.[139] The gardens were characterised by two 900-feet long rectangular canals, and a large east-west terrace walk running next to the house which was fifty-feet above the parterre below,[140] giving Cadogan a commanding view of the parterre and parkland he owned and refashioned to his tastes. Beyond the formal parterres stood areas of wilderness with avenues cut through them, and an iron palisade (far preferable to a solid wall in the opinion of Switzer who loved to open up views of surrounding country)[141] separated the garden from the deer park beyond. In the centre of the palisade was a bastion-like semi-circle which protruded into the parkland and was punctuated by 'great Iron Gates'.[142] Like Blenheim, the kitchen-garden was placed away from the house, askew to the main garden.

Whilst it is by no means unreasonable to suggest that Cadogan was influenced by Marlborough's work at Woodstock, it should be emphasised that it would be hasty to identify some of Caversham's features as direct imitations of Blenheim when they may simply have been manifestations of current design trends. For example, placing the kitchen-garden away from the house was increasingly common in this period and can be seen in the gardens of Claremont, Sacombe, Bramham, and Heythrop.[143] Nevertheless, considering Cadogan's military and political links with Marlborough, the relationship between Blenheim and Caversham is worth considering thoroughly. Even if Stephen Switzer was not consciously imitating aspects of Blenheim at Caversham, the fact that he regarded the garden work done at the former as 'stupendous',[144] may suggest he incorporated elements of it into his own designs. As Switzer wrote before citing Blenheim as an example: 'I need say little as to the

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[139] Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening, Illustrated by Descriptions* (London, 1770), p. 143.
[140] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, iii., p. 11.
[141] Stephen Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica: Or, The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation* (3 vols., London, 1718), i., pp. xviii-xix, xxxv-xxxviii.
[142] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, iii., p. 12; Brogden, *Ichnographia Rustica*, p. 121.
[143] David Jacques, 'The Formal Garden', in Christopher Ridgway and Robert Williams (eds.), *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England, 1690-1730* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 40-41.
[144] Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica*, i., p. 84.

reducing Fortification into Gardening; 'tis what will, I believe, be very pleasing to all the martial Genius's of our Country; and it seems somewhat of Wonder, that it has not been made Use of before now.'[145] Garden historian Judith Roberts argues that Switzer's fortified garden at Grimsthorpe Castle in Lincolnshire begun c. 1711 was 'strongly influenced by Vanbrugh's bastion garden at Blenheim',[146] so it is feasible that other Switzer designs such as Caversham could have been too, albeit in a subtler manner.

Like Switzer, Cadogan would also have been familiar with Blenheim. He was even granted his own lodge there (fig. 1.13) although in 1713/14 the Duchess of Marlborough thought that he would not use it, adding that 'I believe it is the Duke of *Marlborough*'s intention that non but keepers should bee in that Parke, therfor 'tis no matter how little is don to it [Cadogan's lodge], or whether Anything at all.'[147] Nevertheless, a 1714 Blenheim housekeeper's report includes mention of crockery broken by Cadogan, proving that he did visit.[148] Cadogan also interacted with the Marlboroughs' material world in other ways. For example, during the Marlboroughs' exile on the Continent Cadogan took care of some of the Duke's possessions.[149] Furthermore, the Duchess of Marlborough alluded to Cadogan's contributions regarding design choices when she referred in a letter of May 1714 to 'Mr *Cadogan*'s thought about the Pannels of Wainscote in the Hall [at Marlborough House] being painted, which I think will do very well, when I have Occasion (if ever that bee) to remove all my Pictures to another Place'.[150]

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[145] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 174; Williams, 'Fortified Gardens', p. 51.
[146] Judith Roberts, 'Stephen Switzer and Water Gardens', in Christopher Ridgway and Robert Williams (eds.), *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England, 1690-1730* (Stroud, 2000), p. 154.
[147] Churchill, *Letters of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough*, pp. 60, 82. One map of Blenheim marked 'Brigad^{r} Cadogan'^{s} Seat' in the park, see Bodl., MS. Gough Maps 26 (Gough collection), fol. 50B.
[148] Green, *Blenheim Palace*, p. 276.
[149] BL, Add MS 75402 (Althorp papers), fol. 16, 'A General List of all the Duke of Marlboroughs Plate which was sent to him by Mr Cadogan at Aix La Chapelle and Antwerp, according to the Account that was taken of it Sept: 22. 1713.' Lists lots of dishes, crockery, candlesticks etc.
[150] Churchill, *Letters of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough*, pp. 103-104.

One of the most notable aspects of Caversham was the sculpture that Cadogan collected. Most of Cadogan's military career took place in the Low Countries. He married a Dutch woman, Margaretta Munter (1675-1749), and he served as British envoy (later ambassador) to the Dutch Republic in 1707-1710 and 1714-1721. In light of these personal, military, and diplomatic connections, it is therefore perhaps unsurprising that he also patronised the region for statuary. Indeed, fragmentary evidence suggests that Cadogan was an engaged and active patron of the arts. For example, George Vertue recorded in 1721 that Pierre-Denis Plumier was 'a most Excellent Statuary who came here from Antwerp by the Encouragement of my Lord Codogan for whom he was to make some Statues.' Unfortunately, Plumier had died of consumption after less than six months in England 'to the great regret of all lovers of arts', leaving behind a number of unfinished statues.[151] Perhaps some of the statues Plumier made, or intended to make, for Cadogan were destined for his collection at Caversham. Certainly, sales particulars for Caversham dating from after Cadogan's death in July 1726 value the garden statuary at £3987 and highlight that the 'large Gardens' were 'adorn'd with Statuary, Obalisks, Urns and Vasas,' with twelve of the statues being made of marble.[152] Cadogan also encouraged painters from (or working in) the Low Countries such as the Dutch painter Herman van der Mijn and the Venetian painter Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini who Cadogan invited to England whilst both were at The Hague in 1718.[153] Cadogan was clearly an important patron of the arts during this period, something which has often been neglected in the historiography which more usually describes him as something along the lines of 'a coarse, bull-necked Irishman'.[154]

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[151] Vertue, 'Vertue Note Books: Volume I', p. 91.
[152] *A Particular of the Mannor of Caversham, in the County of Oxon, with the Great House, Gardens and Park Thereunto Belonging; Late the Estate of the Right Honourable the Earl of Cadogan* (London?, 1727?), pp. 1-2.
[153] George Vertue, 'Vertue Note Books: Volume III', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, vol. 22 (1933-1934), p. 34; George Knox, *Antonio Pellegrini, 1675-1741* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 144-146.
[154] E. P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (London, 1977), p. 101.

Whilst Cadogan evidently had an interest in the arts however, the fruits of his craftsmen's labours did not meet with universal acclaim. Sir John Clerk complained that Cadogan's garden ornaments were 'very bad. amongst other things of this kind his Losp at a vast expense brought several huge marble statues from Holand there are here several Godesses but of such a clumsey make as one may See they were made in a Country where women are valened [valued?] by the pound of Ar-s.'[155] Indeed, Clerk thought Cadogan's 'many Huge vases' at Caversham greatly resembled their thickset and gaudy owner in that they were also 'heavy things covered with Gold; for all of them are gilt.'[156] It was not only Clerk who saw the satirical potential of Cadogan's collection. When John (later Lord) Hervey visited Cadogan at Caversham in the summer of 1723, he wrote a short verse titled *Written on the Gilded Statue in Lord Cadogan's Garden*. In the poem, the eponymous gilded sculpture instructed Cadogan on how to court a woman as beautiful and mindless as the statue itself: 'So much our Qualities agree,/ 'Twill do for her that did for me;/ Guild her but well, you may with ease/ Carry her naked where you please.'[157] Described by Bill Overton as probably 'written to amuse the hosts and guests',[158] Hervey's acidic tongue may also have been directed at the ageing Cadogan's affair with the young (and married) Margaret Poultney. A friend of the Duchess of Marlborough had written the previous November that Cadogan's 'great passion for Mrs. Pulteney is… the Joke of the Town… He is the most ridiculous sight imaginable in all publick places',[159] and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu similarly

[155] NRS, GD18/2107, fol. 13.
[156] *Ibid.*
[157] *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, and her Second Husband, The Hon. George Berkeley; From 1712 to 1767*, ed. John Wilson Croker (2 vols., London, 1824), i. p. 107; John Hervey Baron Hervey, *The Collected Verse of John, Lord Hervey (1696-1743)*, ed. Bill Overton (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 303-304.
[158] *Ibid.*, p. 303.
[159] Quoted in Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters*, p. 203.

noted in May 1723 that Poultney condescended 'to be publically kept by the noble Earl of Cadogan'.[160]

The description of Caversham in Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* gives further details of some of its sculptures: 'The Parterre is nobly adorned with Fountains, Vases and Statues particularly Four Originals in Statuary Marble, of King WILLIAM, King GEORGE, Duke of MARLBOROUGH, and Prince EUGENE, all so very like, that they are known at Sight; besides many valuable ones, cast from the best Antiques.'[161] The choice of subjects in this series of statues created by the Flemish sculptor Michiel van der Voort was clearly deliberate.[162] For example, the statues of William III and George I played into a pro-Protestant narrative endorsing the Revolution of 1688-9 and the Hanoverian Succession of 1714. They were also two kings to whom Cadogan owed much – from the beginnings of his military career during William III's reign to the accumulation of aristocratic titles and other offices during George I's. A further reason to deploy sculptures of both men may have been to encourage visitors to naturally associate the two kings. In line with pro-Hanoverian writings and imagery, this would have helped promote George I as William III's rightful successor (or even his 'Adopted Son'), accompanying a programme which sought to associate George I and George II with heroic historical and legendary figures such as Edward III, the Black Prince, and St George.[163] The omission of a Queen Anne statue at Caversham, the monarch under whom Cadogan acquired most of his battle honours, could simply be attributed to a woman not aesthetically fitting into this masculine pantheon of soldiers and royalty (two overlapping categories). Alternatively, it may have been a calculated snub due to Anne's ill-treatment of the Marlborough circle at the end of her reign. In this sense,

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[160] *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband (3 vols., Oxford, 1965-1967), ii., p. 24.
[161] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, iii., pp. 11-12.
[162] Malcolm Baker, *Figured in Marble: The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth-Century Sculpture* (London, 2000), p. 140.
[163] Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, pp. 24-28.

Cadogan had something in common with his now-adversary the Duchess of Marlborough who, amongst other points of friction, accused Cadogan of speculating with some of the Duke's investments that he had been entrusted with during the Marlboroughs' exile.[164] Sarah also struggled with the legacy of her relationship with her old mistress. Unlike Cadogan, she finally commissioned a statue of Anne from John Michael Rysbrack for Blenheim in the 1730s complete with a deeply flattering eulogy that Frances Harris argues was designed to implicitly contrast with one of the Duchess's latest enemies – George II's queen, Caroline of Ansbach.[165]

The erection of statues of Marlborough and his ally Prince Eugene of Savoy in Cadogan's sculptural pantheon at Caversham not only commemorated their military service during the War of Spanish Succession, but also Cadogan's through his association with both men and his commissioning of these sculptures. Additionally, by the inclusion of Prince Eugene, Cadogan was commemorating more than just British military commanders. Cadogan was clearly happy to embrace the war's broader European context as well as the contribution of Britain's allies who the Tories had (in the Whigs' opinion) shamefully deserted following the dismissal of Marlborough at the end of 1711. This in turn hints at the idea of an elite pan-European cosmopolitanism that scholars such as Gerald Newman have detected in the eighteenth century.[166] Cadogan's statue of Marlborough was not the only representation of the Duke at Caversham. Cadogan also acquired paintings celebrating his old patron's military efforts. For example, his picture collection at the time of his death included 'A Battle of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s' and 'A large Triumph of the Duke of

[164] Falkner, 'Cadogan, William, Earl Cadogan (1671/2-1726)', *ODNB*; Harris, *A Passion for Government*, p. 212.
[165] Frances Harris, 'Accounts of the Conduct of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, 1704-1742', *The British Library Journal*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Spring 1982), p. 28.
[166] Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History 1740-1830*, rev. edn. (Basingstoke, 1997), pp. 11-14.

Marlborough's, painted at *Rome*, by *Sanctus Piati*'.[167] Further planned commemoration is hinted at in letters of the impresario and art dealer Owen McSwiny who in 1723 referred to the creation of a series of paintings concerning the deeds of Marlborough intended for Cadogan, though it is unclear what became of the project.[168]

Additionally, Cadogan was apparently one of several senior army officers who emulated Marlborough and acquired copies of the Flemish *Art of War* set of tapestries. The series portrayed various activities of a campaigning army such as living in a camp, foraging, marching, and ambushing the enemy. According to a 1797 guide to Stowe in Buckinghamshire, *Art of War* sets of varying sizes were created for Marlborough at Blenheim, Cadogan at Caversham, the Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham (1675-1749) at Stowe, John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll (1680-1743) at Inveraray Castle in Argyllshire, George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney (1666-1737) at Cliveden in Buckinghamshire, General Henry Lumley (c. 1658-1722) at his brother the 1st Earl of Scarbrough's estate of Stansted in West Sussex, and Lieutenant-General John Richmond Webb (1667-1724) presumably at his estate of Biddesden in Wiltshire. Unfortunately (assuming they existed), it is unknown what became of Cadogan, Argyll, or Webb's tapestries.[169] Marlborough commissioned his *Art of War* set in 1705, and Richard Johns argues that the Duke's six subordinate officers' commissioning of their own versions (presumably around the same time) not only demonstrated their shared cultural taste, 'but also a collective commitment to Britain's recent military affairs and, at that moment, an unquestioned loyalty to Marlborough as their

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[167] *A Catalogue of the Rich Furniture of the Right Honourable Earl of Cadogan, (Deceas'd.) With the Lease of his Lordship's Large Dwelling House, with Two Other Houses Adjoyning to it, with Coach-Houses and Stables, and all Manner of Other Conveniences. As Likewise an Excellent Collection of Pictures, By the Most Celebrated Italian and Flemish Masters* (London, 1727), p. 18.
[168] George Knox, '"The Tombs of Famous Englishmen" as Described in the Letters of Owen McSwiny to the Duke of Richmond', *Arte Veneta*, vol. 37 (1983), p. 228. Richmond was Cadogan's son-in-law.
[169] J. Seeley, *Stowe: A Description of the House and Gardens of the Most Noble and Puissant Prince, George Grenville Nugent Temple, Marquis of Buckingham* (Buckingham, 1797), p. 62. For the tapestries of Marlborough's subordinate officers see Wace, *The Marlborough Tapestries at Blenheim Palace*, pp. 49-59; Bapasola, *Threads of History*, pp. 143-146.

leader.'[170] Johns's emphasis on the 'moment' is important as, unlike Cadogan, some of these officers such as Argyll and Webb subsequently became deeply disillusioned with the Captain-General.

Overall, despite much of his taste being met with the opprobrium of a connoisseur like Sir John Clerk, Cadogan's patronage of the arts and development of his house and gardens at Caversham demonstrate how by acquiring sufficient riches he was able to purchase a country estate and engage in the sort of cultural activities expected of a member of the aristocratic landed elite. Whilst his estate at Caversham is now largely forgotten compared to Marlborough's Blenheim, in its heyday it would have evidenced the prosperity achievable by one of Marlborough's most favoured officers.

v.

As the cases of Meredyth's and Palmes's estates already imply, details of military officers' estates on smaller scales than Blenheim or Caversham are usually quite sketchy. In the absence of surviving plans or much correspondence, information is often limited to officers' wills or brief mentions within descriptions of counties or regions. However, there are some comparatively well-documented exceptions to the rule. For example, featuring in the so-called fourth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* of 1739 is an engraving of a large detached house surrounded by fields and trees titled 'The Seat of the Hon[ble] Collonel Williamson in Oakingham [Wokingham] Berks' (fig. 1.14).[171] An entrance court ornamented with two obelisks topped by *fleur-de-lis* led up to a ten-bay astylar house which was ostensibly symmetrical though in fact the 'central' bay with the entrance door was the fifth bay from

[170] Johns, '"The British Caesar"', p. 335.
[171] [T.] Badeslade and J. Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth. Being a Collection of Plans, Elevations, and Perspective Views, of the Royal Palaces, Noblemen, and Gentlemens Seats, in Great Britain, Not Exhibited in any Collection of this Nature Hitherto Published* (London, 1739), pl. 92-93, in [T.] Badeslade, J. Rocque, John Woolfe, and James Gandon, *Vitruvius Britannicus Second Series* (Mineola NY, 2009).

the left and the sixth from the right. Combined with the vernacular and rustic outbuildings, one is left with the impression that Williamson's house aspired to classicism but on a relatively limited budget. Behind the house, a square walled garden reminiscent of a simple fort jutted out into the countryside. Steps up to two protruding corner platforms, connected by a walkway, looked over a straight avenue of trees which stretched from an opening in the fort garden's wall to the end of a field behind the property. This arboreal avenue, a common feature of parkland design in this period already seen at Blenheim and Caversham, acted as a symbol of the landowner's control over the surrounding area. As one landscape historian argues, an avenue of trees 'demonstrated complete ownership of the *enclosed* ground over which it passed', an effect exacerbated the more complex the web of avenues was. Certainly, Williamson's will refers to him possessing land in the parish.[172] As an ensemble, Williamson's house and fort garden are reminiscent of a much simpler and austere form of Blenheim and its fortified garden.

The 'Collonel Williamson' to whom this house belonged was Adam Williamson (1676/7-1747), Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower of London from 1722 to 1747. As a junior officer, Williamson served in Flanders during the War of Spanish Succession, participating in battles such as Ramillies and Malplaquet, and ending the war with the rank of captain. He had strong links to Marlborough's favourites, serving as aide-de-camp to 'my great friend and patron' Thomas Meredyth[173] during the war and to William Cadogan after the accession of George I. In light of these connections, Williamson may also have hailed from Ireland. Becoming a lieutenant-colonel in 1717 and an adjutant-general to the forces with the rank of colonel in 1722, Williamson was promoted to brigadier-general in 1739, major-general in

[172] Tom Williamson, 'Estate Management and Landscape Design', in Christopher Ridgway and Robert Williams (eds.), *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England, 1690-1730* (Stroud, 2000), p. 23; TNA, PROB 11/758/165, fol. 105.
[173] For the warm acknowledgement to Meredyth, see Adam Williamson, *Military Memoirs and Maxims of Marshal Turenne. Interspersed with Others, Taken from the Best Authors and Observation, with Remarks* (Dublin, 1740), p. xi.

1741, and lieutenant-general in 1745. He thus would have held the title of colonel at the time the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engraving was made.[174] Williamson usually spent the summer at his house in Oakingham with his family before returning to work at the Tower in the autumn where he had use of an official residence (the Constable's house). The first such sojourn recorded in his diary was in the summer of 1728 and the last in the summer of 1737.[175]

Family must have played an important role at Oakingham and the engraving of the house in *Vitruvius Britannicus* was based on a drawing by 'G Williamson'.[176] Adam Williamson had a nephew named George Williamson (d. 1781) whose drawing ability was highlighted when Williamson referred to some artwork at the Tower of London in April 1728:

> The Several Pictures or Academic Figures painted on the Pannells in the great room up two pair of Stairs were drawn and painted by G. Williamson My Nephew who had been 3 years abroad in France Chiefly to Learne to draw at the Academies at Paris Antwerp &c., these are the first things he ever did in oyle or anyway with a pensill. The Great and Good Duke of Argyle [the Master-General of the Ordnance] was pleased to make him a Lieu^{t} in the Ordnance his Commission dated Jañry ye 1 1727; he had been before 6 years a Cadet in it and a good Mathematition.[177]

It was therefore this artilleryman nephew (who went on to become a senior Royal Artillery commander in North America during the Seven Years' War), trained in drawing, who was responsible for this illustration of his soldier uncle's house in Oakingham which he presumably visited in the summer. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine what elements of this house and its fortified garden were Williamson's doing, and what was there when he acquired the property. His diary refers to acquiring some pear trees for the garden in

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[174] This biographical information derives from Adam Williamson, *The Official Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 1722-1747*, ed. John Charles Fox (London, 1912), pp. 5-25; Dalton, *English Army Lists*, v., p. 242, vi., pp. 347, 392; Dalton, *George the First's Army*, i., pp. 223, 343, ii., pp. 332-333, 434. Williamson also served as Captain of Carisbrooke Castle from 1727 and Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury from 1742.
[175] Williamson, *Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson*, pp. 60, 71, 77, 82, 85, 89, 92, 96.
[176] Badeslade and Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth*, pl. 92-93.
[177] Williamson, *Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson*, p. 55. For George Williamson, see Dalton, *George the First's Army*, ii., p. 253.

January 1735,[178] and the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engraving depicts the metal gates to the entrance court as bearing the Williamson family crest which only he could have acquired.[179]

What is more certain is how Williamson used his Oakingham estate to commemorate the Hanoverian regime he prospered under and firmly state his own political views. He thus provides a useful example of how military officers could use even relatively small estates to broadcast their affiliations in the same vein as Cadogan's sculptural pantheon at Caversham. On 1 August 1731, Williamson expressed his loyalty to George II at his Oakingham house in the form of a fireworks display

> in Joyfull remembrance of the happy accession of the good protestant house of Hanover to the throne of Great Brit[n]. I fired a hundred Large Rockets, beside Swarm boxes, wheels, runners on the line. Had the King and Queen Cipher with the Crowne over it held by 2 guardin angels, and over all HANOVER FOR EVER, y[e] top of y[e] house Illuminated with flambaus.[180]

Presumably this took place in Williamson's fort-like garden where the raised viewing platform would have provided an excellent spot to see the fireworks being set off as well as the decorations on the house. Williamson organised similar commemorative royal events in his official capacity back at the Tower of London. For example, for Queen Caroline's birthday in 1729, Williamson 'orderd our Guns round the Tower to fire, a bonfire was made on the hill, and a Barril of Beer given to the Populace as usual.'[181] It is therefore unsurprising that he was willing to do the same at his own estate. However, whilst this was ostensibly a private setting, Williamson's personal fireworks display would have been a highly public demonstration of his loyalty towards the Hanoverians.

Williamson was deeply devoted to the new dynasty, and therefore the 1688-9 Revolution. As he remarked during the aftermath of the Jacobite Atterbury plot, none of the prisoners released on bail in May 1723 had tipped him 'nor did I indeed expect that such

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[178] Williamson, *Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson*, p. 87.
[179] Badeslade and Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth*, pl. 92-93.
[180] Williamson, *Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson*, p. 71.
[181] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

thorough enemys to the Illustrous house of hanover shoud give mony to one who they knew was so warmly affected to King George and his family as I was.'[182] According to Hannah Smith, most soldiers, regardless of rank, 'saw themselves as being servants of the king and zealously reported seditious remarks expressed by political dissidents to the authorities.' This included Williamson who in January 1725 wrote to his superiors with regards to a workers' disturbance in Wapping and enclosed copies of their treasonous Jacobite ballads.[183]

The early Hanoverians took great interest in and strongly associated with the British army. George I, George II, and George II's younger son William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland were all professional soldiers who took military reviews seriously and advocated reforms such as the regulation of the sale of commissions and the standardisation of uniforms.[184] The notion of royal control this fostered was of great importance to the two monarchs who unsurprisingly wished to create a loyal army and promoted (and dismissed) officers accordingly.[185] As Alan J. Guy notes, George II kept a close eye on the careers and personalities of his officers and even recorded this information in a book to use when deciding upon promotions, rejecting attempts by civilian politicians to interfere.[186] It is not difficult to see why a royal family whose members were so keen to improve the armed forces would have appealed to Williamson. Not only did the King have huge influence over his military career, Williamson, recently promoted to brigadier-general, published the *Military Memoirs and Maxims of Marshal Turenne* in 1740. This was an English translation of

[182] Williamson, *Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson*, pp. 42-43.
[183] Hannah Smith, 'The Army, Provincial Urban Communities, and Loyalist Cultures in England, c. 1714-50', *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 15, issue 1 (2011), p. 147; Williamson, *Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson*, p. 44.
[184] Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, pp. 104-116; Houlding, *Fit for Service*, pp. 100, 179-180, 191-192, 195-196, 297-300, 310-311; Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline*, pp. 19-23, 32, 149.
[185] Smith, 'The Army, Provincial Urban Communities, and Loyalist Cultures in England', p. 146.
[186] Guy, *Oeconomy and Discipline*, p. 20.

the writings of the accomplished seventeenth-century French general Turenne with added comments by Williamson.[187]

Williamson's translation was not only dedicated to George II but also presented by Williamson in person to the King and the Duke of Cumberland in April 1740. Whilst he also presented his book to Frederick, Prince of Wales, Williamson trod carefully to avoid being caught up in the hostility between the King and his eldest son. During this period, Prince Frederick was the figurehead of the opposition to his father's ministry led by the Whig titan Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745, later 1st Earl of Orford). Instead, as the King's orders 'forbad me to go to the Princes Court,' Williamson gave a copy of his book to Lord North, Frederick's Lord of the Bedchamber, to present on his behalf.[188] Williamson's navigation of the political waters was successful, and he was promoted to major-general the following year. Williamson's translation of Turenne was supposed to be practical and educational: 'every paragraph is a lesson', and he evidently intended it to complement the popular *Treatise of Military Discipline* published by Lieutenant-Colonel Humphrey Bland thirteen years previously. In Williamson's assessment, the lack of serious hostilities since the War of Spanish Succession had resulted in many of the current crop of officers having never served abroad and in want of some good military instruction, an issue compounded by the death of most of the experienced old guard.[189] Williamson thus shared an enthusiasm for military improvement with members of the Hanoverian royal family which, in addition to his identity as a loyal soldier and Tower official, helps explain why he so devotedly celebrated the jubilee at Oakingham in 1731.

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[187] Williamson, *Military Memoirs and Maxims of Marshal Turenne*. Originally published in London though this thesis has had to use the Dublin reprint. A second edition was published in 1744.
[188] Williamson, *Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson*, p. 103. Three weeks later, 'Lord North came to the Tower by the direction of his Royal Highness to thank me for My book, to let me know his Highness had read it, and that it had given him a great dail [deal] of pleasure.'
[189] Williamson, *Military Memoirs and Maxims of Marshal Turenne*, pp. v-vi, x-xi; Humphrey Bland, *A Treatise of Military Discipline; In Which is Laid Down and Explained the Duty of the Officer and Soldier, Thro' the Several Branches of the Service*, 2nd edn. (London, 1727); Sanghvi, 'Gentlemen of Leisure or Vital Professionals?', p. 162.

Despite the large garden and country views depicted in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engraving, Williamson's house in Oakingham was in the neighbourhood of a bustling market town. Eventually, this proximity to the centre of Oakingham appears to have become a problem and did not provide Williamson with the summer solace he desired. By October 1738, the year before the publication of the fourth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Williamson had acquired and spent the summer in a house at Orange Hill in the more rural setting of Binfield, three-and-a-half miles from Oakingham (future visits are recorded in the diary in 1743, 1744, and 1745). This is the house that appears in his will, implying that the house in Oakingham had been disposed of.[190] This raises the broader point that one must be careful not to generalise when talking about motivations for the acquisition of estates by military officers. Individual taste, such as the level of ruralness desired, was surely one of the most important factors.

For example, in contrast to Williamson's escape to the country, Field Marshal George Wade (1673-1748) seems to have preferred more urban surroundings. In addition to his London house designed in 1723 by (and leased from) the Palladian Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington,[191] Wade also had a fashionable provincial residence. However, rather than a country house, Wade settled on a property in the centre of Bath where he served as MP from 1722 to 1748. No doubt the number of amenities on offer in the spa resort made it an attractive choice, and Wade took the opportunity to fortify his political position in the borough through various acts of philanthropy and other such benefactions, securing the votes of all of Bath's thirty electors in 1734.[192]

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[190] Williamson, *Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson*, pp. 100, 115, 118; TNA, PROB 11/758/165, fol. 105.

[191] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, iii., p. 7, pl. 10; Tim Knox and Todd Longstaffe-Gowan, 'A Town Garden Design for 29 Old Burlington Street, Westminster', *The Georgian Group Journal*, vol. 1 (1991), pp. 36-40. For Burlington, see Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 147-152.

[192] Holmes, *Augustan England*, pp. 272-273; R. S. Lea, 'Wade, George (1673-1748), of Abbey Courtyard, Bath, Som.', *HoC 1715-1754*. For Wade's residences, see Stephen Dodgson, 'The Babe of

Marlborough's Blenheim, Cadogan's Caversham and the estates of Marlborough's other Irish favourites, and Williamson's house in Oakingham present a series of officers' estates on a sliding scale of colossal country pile to a large gentleman's house. They are linked by a series of patronage links from the Captain-General, to two of his Irish favourites (Meredyth and Cadogan), to their aide-de-camp Williamson. As this chapter has shown, Marlborough's Irish favourites had numerous overlapping military and political links with the Captain-General. Certainly, the partiality he showed towards them provoked many hostile comments from the Duke's critics. In light of these strong personal and professional connections, the key question begs itself: did Cadogan and the others consciously seek to emulate Marlborough in their own movement into elite society in southern England? Frustratingly, this can only be inferred rather than conclusively proven. Certainly, the peculiar nature of Blenheim – the fact that the land was granted by Queen Anne in an act of royal munificence and the construction (for the first half a dozen years at least) was funded by the Crown, makes it somewhat of an outlier among the other estates discussed in this thesis. Yet it is inconceivable, considering Cadogan and the other favourites' close ties to the Duke and the sheer fame (or notoriety) of the Blenheim project, that it would not have had at least a subconscious effect on their own attempts, as career army soldiers, to settle into elite landed life.

In this they were successful. Although the riches acquired by Marlborough's star protégé Cadogan set him apart from the rest, even an officer such as Meredyth and his ill-judged financial investment was still able to purchase an estate in retirement. The blossoming of their military careers during the War of Spanish Succession was thanks to Marlborough's patronage and allowed them to settle into comfortable retirement or high-profile political careers particularly after the Hanoverian Succession. The trickle-down effect

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Tangier: An Enquiry into the Life and Circle of General George Wade', *Journal for the Society of Army Historical Research*, vol. 82, no. 330 (Summer 2004), pp. 120-125, 128.

of Marlborough's patronage can be seen in the case of Williamson, whose employ under Meredyth and Cadogan lay the foundations which enabled him to secure his office at the Tower of London (and subsequently senior military rank) and prosper under the Hanoverians.



Figure 1.1 Michael Dahl (attrib.), *John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough*, c. 1702.



Figure 1.2 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough*, c. 1706.

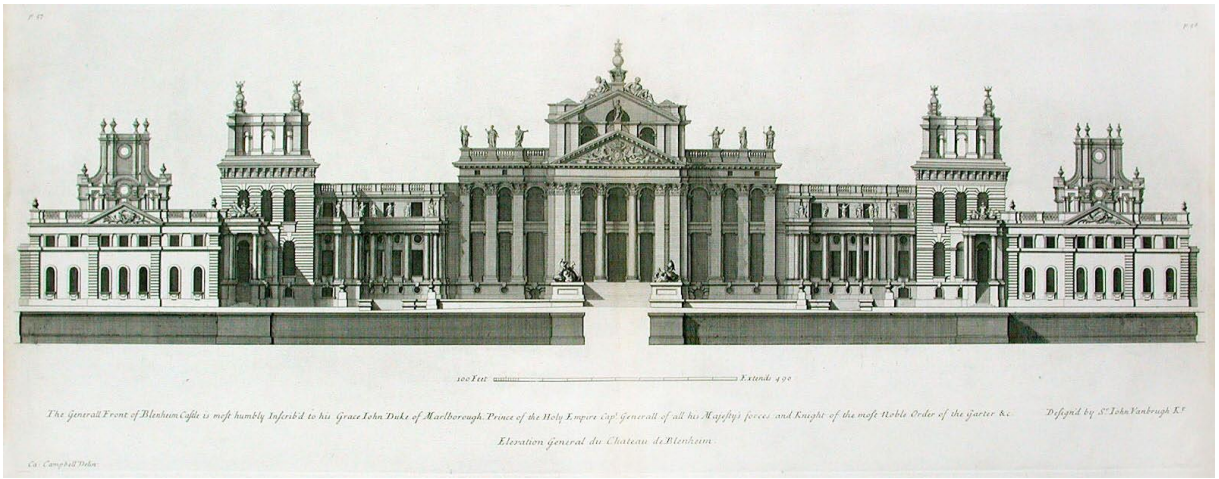

Figure 1.3 Colen Campbell, *The Generall Front of Blenheim Castle is most humbly Inscrib'd to his Grace John Duke of Marlborough*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), i., pl. 57-58.

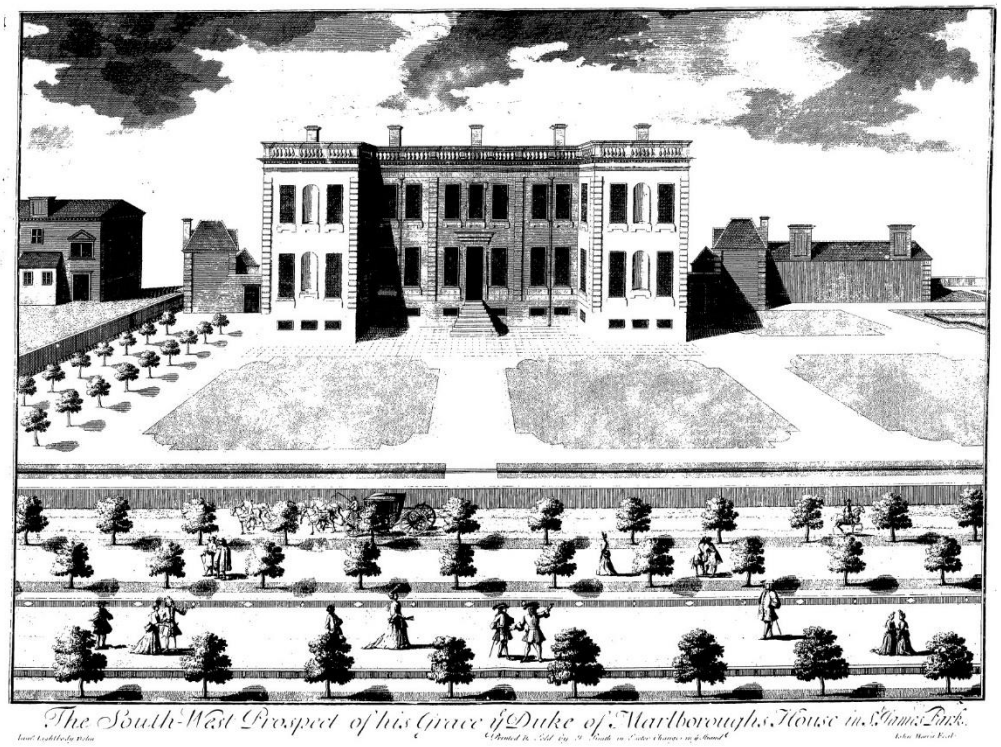

Figure 1.4 James Lightbody, *The South-West Prospect of his Grace y^e^ Duke of Marlboroughs House in St James Park*, in *Nouveau Theatre de la Grande Bretagne* (4 vols., London, 1724), iv., pl. 25.

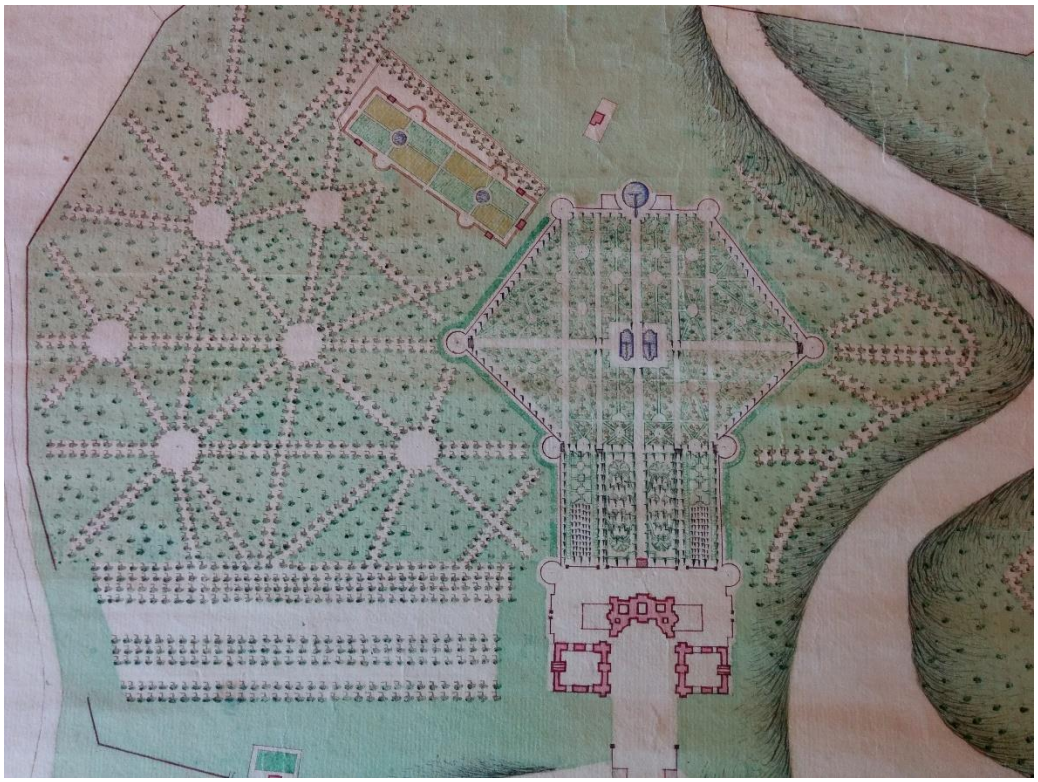

Figure 1.5 A detail from Henry Wise, *Four plans of the garden and park layout of Blenheim Palace drawn by Henry Wise, Superintendent of gardens to Queen Anne*, c. 1709, Bodl., MS. Top. Oxon. a. 50 (R), fol. 2.

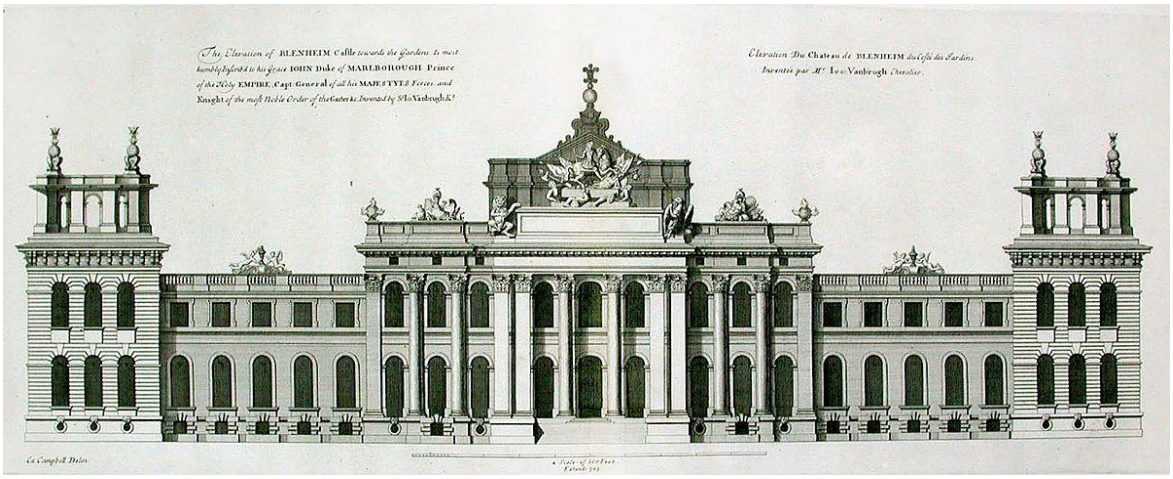

Figure 1.6 Colen Campbell, *The Elevation of Blenheim Castle towards the Gardens. Is most humbly Inscrib'd to his Grace John Duke of Marlborough*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), i., pl. 59-60.



Figure 1.7 Unknown artist, *William Cadogan, 1st Baron (later Earl) Cadogan*, c. 1716.



Figure 1.8 Pieter van Bloemen, *John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough and William Cadogan (later 1st Earl Cadogan) at Blenheim*, 1714.



Figure 1.9 Garrett Morphey, *Thomas Meredyth*, c. 1702.



Figure 1.10 Unknown artist, *Francis Palmes*, early 18th century.

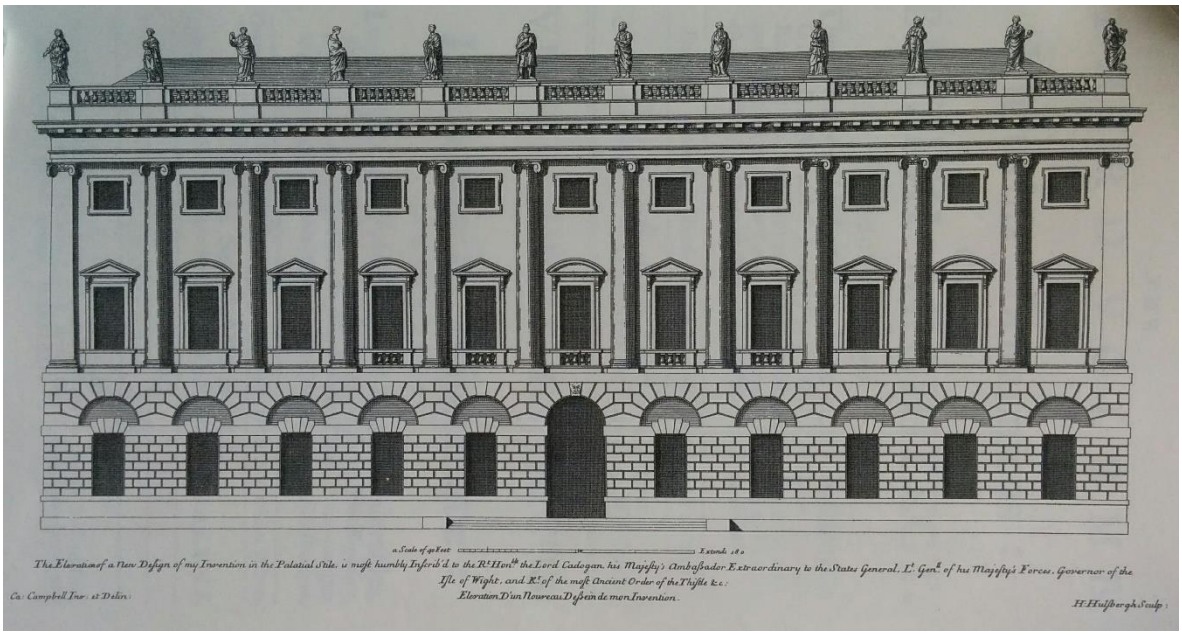

Figure 1.11 Colen Campbell, *The Elevation of a New Design of my Invention in the Palatial Stile, is most humbly Inscrib'd to the R^t Honble the Lord Cadogan*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), ii., pl. 99-100.

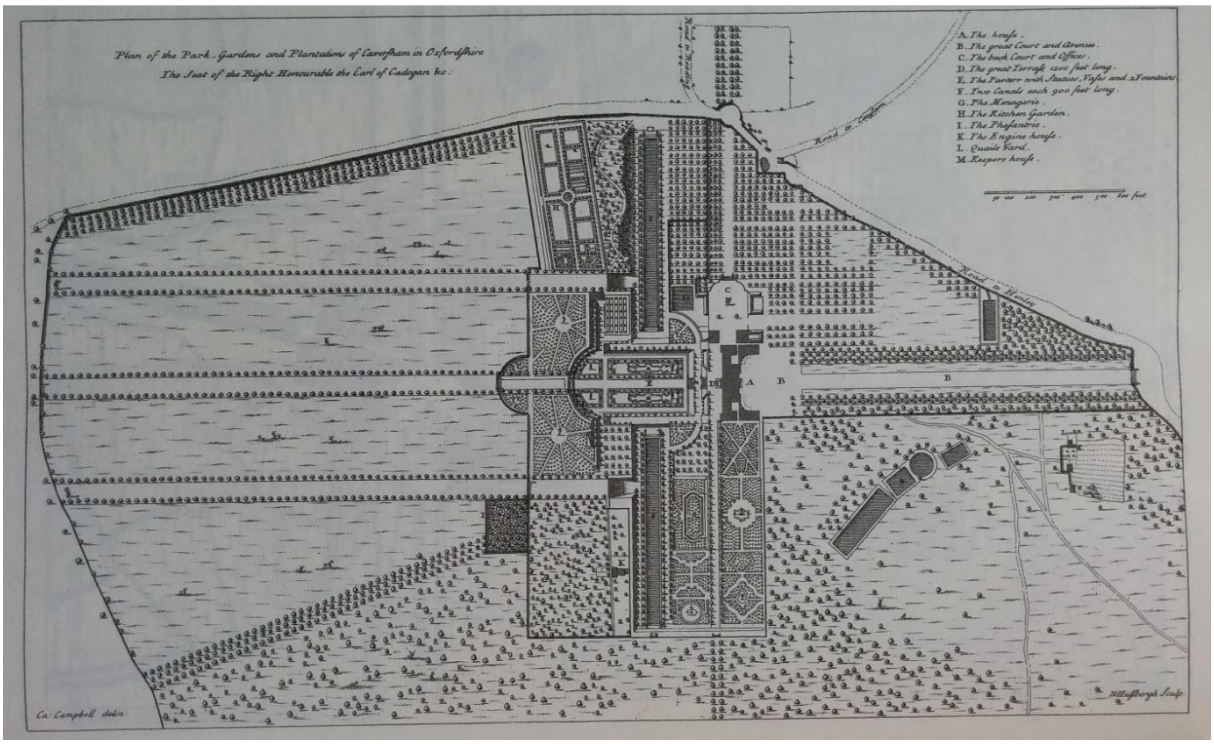

Figure 1.12 Colen Campbell, *Plan of the Park, Gardens and Plantations of Caversham in Oxfordshire The Seat of the Right Honourable the Earl of Cadogan &c*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), iii., pl. 96-97.

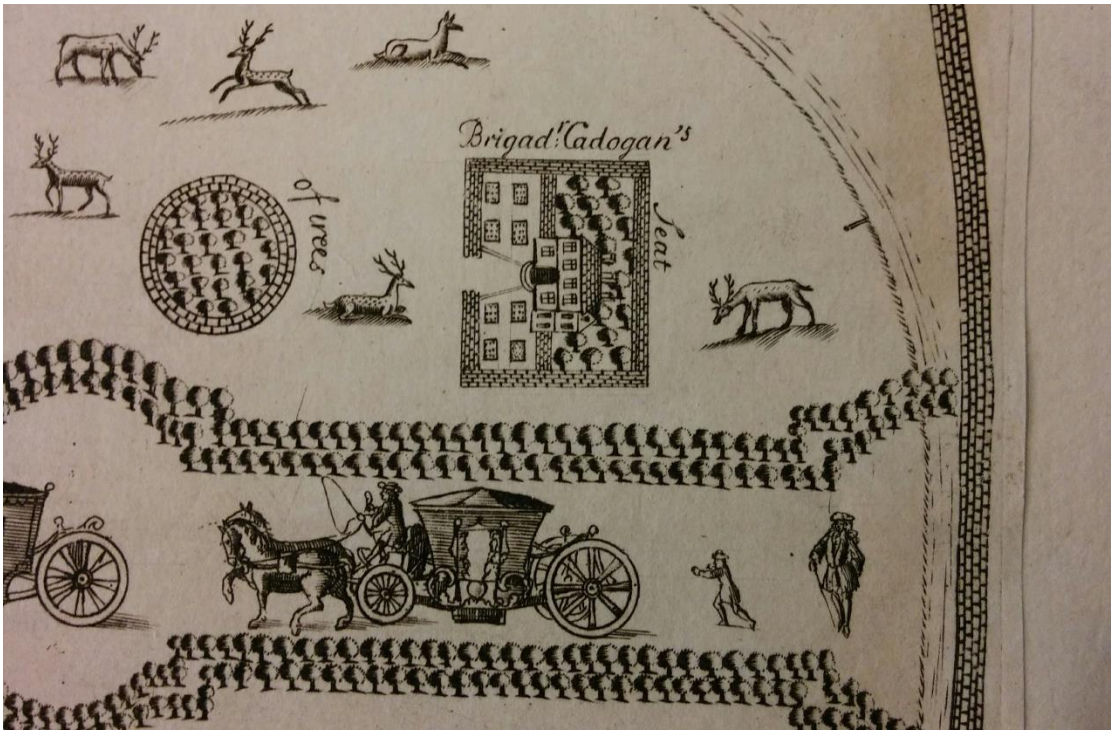

Figure 1.13 A detail from unknown draughtsman, *A View of Woodstock Park and the Palace of Blenhiem*, c. 1710, Bodl., MS. Gough Maps 26 (Gough Collection), fol. 50B.



Figure 1.14 G. Williamson, *The Seat of the Hon[ble] Collonel Williamson in Oakingham Berks*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth* (London, 1739), pl. 92-93.

Chapter Two – New Perspectives on Viscount Cobham and Stowe:

Its Influences and Context Within Military Officers' Estates

The veteran army officer Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham (1675-1749) (figs. 2.1 and 2.2) engaged in an energetic programme of works at his estate of Stowe in Buckinghamshire, making it one of the most famous country seats of its day. Its sheer size and number of buildings provoked much comment. In 1750 George II asked Anne Grenville, the wife of Cobham's nephew Richard Grenville who had recently inherited Stowe, whether 'the Gardens at Stow were big enough or whether all the estate was to be put into gardens'. The King 'laugh'd a good deal' and Anne confessed that she believed he 'meant a little sneer at the last owner [Cobham] of them.'[1] George II's sarcastic remark may reflect tensions between himself and Cobham arising from the latter's prolonged opposition to the King's ministry from 1733, opening up questions over to what extent Stowe under Cobham served as a political statement.

The political history of Stowe is well-known and has been thoughtfully analysed by a number of historians such as George B. Clarke, a former teacher at Stowe School and leading authority on the house and gardens, who has emphasised the estate's role in the 'Patriot' opposition to Walpole and the politically-pointed iconography of Cobham's garden buildings.[2] Cobham had fallen out with Sir Robert Walpole following his opposition to the government's controversial Excise Bill in 1733, resulting in him being deprived of his cavalry regiment.[3] It was at Stowe Cobham raised the anti-Walpole faction known as 'Cobham's Cubs' or the 'Boy Patriots' which included future prominent politicians linked to each other

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[1] *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe 1700-1750*, p. 187.

[2] George B. Clarke, 'Grecian Taste and Gothic Virtue: Lord Cobham's Gardening Programme and its Iconography', *Apollo*, vol. 97, no. 136 (June 1973), pp. 566-571. For a valuable scholarly account of the 'Patriot' movement, and Cobham and Stowe's involvement in it, see Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725-1742* (Oxford, 1994).

[3] For the political crisis caused by the Excise BIll, see Paul Langford, *The Excise Crisis: Society and Politics in the Age of Walpole* (Oxford, 1975).

by blood or marriage such as William Pitt (the elder) and Cobham's nephew and heir Richard Grenville.[4] Similarly, Stowe was a setting in which Cobham could charm the political opposition's figurehead, Frederick, Prince of Wales. It was not until after Walpole's fall in 1742 that Cobham was rehabilitated with his restoration to a regimental colonelcy and promotion to field marshal.

However, it should be emphasised that Stowe is also of great historical interest outside these familiar avenues of enquiry. The more formal layout at Stowe dating from the earlier decades of the eighteenth century dominated the layout of the site for many years to come. Even as late as the 1770s, when many parts of Cobham's gardens had been altered, moved, or demolished, the agriculturist Arthur Young still noted that the gardens at Stowe 'were sketched at first quite in the old stile of broad straight gravel walks and avenues of trees; with regular waters'. Whilst much of this had changed in the intervening years, Young added the caveat that the grounds had only been 'modernized as much as they would admit', and commented that the water was not entirely 'cured of its original stiffness'.[5] These formal elements dated from the work done at Stowe by Sir John Vanbrugh and the landscape gardener Charles Bridgeman, who both came to work at Stowe in the 1710s.

Sir Richard Temple, 4th Baronet (as Cobham was styled before receiving his peerage) had inherited the Stowe estate and the Temple baronetcy from his father, a long-serving Tory MP, in 1697. By the time Vanbrugh and Bridgeman arrived, he held the rank of lieutenant-general and had a distinguished military record, one of the highlights of which had been his exemplary performance at the siege of Lille in 1708. By the end of the 1710s, when Cobham led an expedition to Spain during the War of the Quadruple Alliance and captured the town of Vigo (October 1719), the ongoing process of improvement at Stowe

[4] Matthew Kilburn, 'Cobham's Cubs (act. 1734–1747)', *ODNB*.
[5] Arthur Young, *The Farmer's Tour Through the East of England* (4 vols., London, 1771), i., pp. 33, 42.

had received a new lease of energy, with Cobham's plans for the house and gardens increasing in scale and magnificence. The reasons for this energetic programme of works have been succinctly put by scholars such as Stowe historian George B. Clarke.[6] The 1710s were overall a profitable period for Cobham. Although in 1713 Temple, 'th[e] greatest Whig in t[h]e Army' and a member of the Kit-Cat Club, was effectively forced into retirement at Stowe by the Tories through the loss of his regiment as well as his parliamentary seat at Buckingham,[7] the Hanoverian Succession the following year brought him substantial political and financial rewards. Under George I, Temple was restored to a regimental colonelcy and raised to the peerage as Baron Cobham in October 1714, later elevated to Viscount Cobham (with a special remainder allowing female relatives to inherit) in May 1718. In addition, Cobham served as envoy extraordinary to Vienna, became Constable of Windsor Castle (swapped in 1723 for the governorship of Jersey), was sworn into the Privy Council, and appointed comptroller of accounts for the army.

Cobham's interest in the Stowe estate was also likely encouraged by the fact that his father's will had dictated that if Cobham had no children (which in the event he did not) the family estate would pass to an obscure cousin. However, after the impoverished relative came of age in 1716 Cobham was able to buy him out, meaning that on Cobham's death his titles (apart from the baronetcy) and estates passed instead to his sister Hester and her eldest son Richard Grenville. Furthermore, Cobham's finances were greatly strengthened by the marriage he made with Anne Halsey (d. 1760) in 1715. Anne, 'daughter to a very considerable brewer' as a childhood acquaintance remembered her,[8] was the child of Edmund Halsey (d. 1729) of Anchor Brewery in Southwark and brought Cobham £20,000

[6] George B. Clarke, 'The Gardens of Stowe', *Apollo*, vol. 97, no. 136 (June 1973), p. 560.
[7] Swift, *Journal to Stella*, p. 526.
[8] Mary Delany, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany: With Interesting Reminiscences of King George the Third and Queen Charlotte*, ed. Augusta Hall, Lady Llanover (3 vols., London, 1861), i., p. 2.

through their marriage. Although a brewer's daughter might seem like a socially substandard match for an up-and-coming Whig peer like Cobham (indeed, only 3% of aristocratic men married wealthy merchants' daughters in the eighteenth century), J. V. Beckett argues that brewers held a certain social prestige and 'enjoyed what amounted to honorary gentry status'.[9] Furthermore, other students of Anne's tutor in her younger years (a Huguenot woman named Mademoisselle Puelle) included girls from the gentry and peerage such as Mary Granville, a relative of the Granville Earls of Bath, and Lady Jane Douglas, the daughter of the 2nd Marquess of Douglas.[10]

Much of Anne Halsey's marriage portion appears to have spent on Cobham's country estate. John Perceval, 1st Viscount Perceval (later 1st Earl of Egmont) observed of Stowe in 1724 that 'We all know how chargeable it is to make a garden with tast; to make one of a sudden is more so; but to erect so many Summer houses, Temples, Pillars, Piramids and Statues, most of fine hewn stone, the rest of guilded lead, would drain the richest purse, and I doubt not but much of his wifes great fortune has been sunk in it.'[11] Edmund Halsey also profited from this arrangement. After being unseated from his newly-won parliamentary seat at Southwark in 1712, Halsey was able to secure one of the Buckingham seats that became vacant in 1717 thanks to the influence of Cobham who reportedly turned down the request of Robert Walpole's brother Horatio to represent the borough in favour of his father-in-law.[12] The decade between 1710 and 1720 can thus be seen to have been one of great financial and political advancement for Cobham, and this is reflected in the great amounts of capital and energy invested in the Temple estate at Stowe. Cobham's architect and fellow Kit-Cat club member Vanbrugh captured this atmosphere of intense estate

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[9] J. V. Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles: Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos, 1710 to 1921* (Manchester, 1994), p. 18.
[10] Delany, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, i., pp. 2-3.
[11] *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe*, p. 16.
[12] R. S. Lea, 'Halsey, Edmund (d.1729), of Southwark, Surr. and Stoke Poges, Bucks.', *HoC 1715-1754*; *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., p. 27.

development and lavish spending in a letter dated 1 July 1719 to his friend Jacob Tonson: 'I lately went to make my Ld Cobham a Visit at Stowe. where he is very well, and in very good humour: and much entertain'd with (besides his Wife) the Improvements of his House and Gardens, in which he Spends all he has to Spare.'[13]

The rest of this chapter is split into three parts which investigate important elements of Stowe that have so far been neglected in the historiography. The first section examines military influences at Stowe such as its features which derived from or were shaped like fortifications, as well as the regimental rows of trees given martial symbolism in the poetry written about Stowe. The second section focuses on Cobham himself and his military friends and colleagues who visited him at Stowe. These included the army officer brothers Robert and James Dormer of Rousham in Oxfordshire, as well as the Scottish army officer Charles Cathcart (later 8th Lord Cathcart) of Auchincruive in Ayrshire who left a detailed account of his 1730 visit both in his diary and in a letter to another Scottish officer, John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair. This section also looks at military men who Cobham sought to care for or commemorate at Stowe such as his old comrade Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Speed, his navy officer nephew Thomas Grenville, and his friend the army officer John Fane, 7th Earl of Westmorland. Finally, the third section situates Stowe within the context of other military officers' estates by considering its function as a place to host the royal family. The Patriots' figurehead Prince Frederick was a guest of Cobham's at Stowe and towards the end of his life Cobham began fitting up a new state bedchamber. Other senior officers' estates which performed this role included Joseph Sabine's Tewin in Hertfordshire and the 1st Earl of Orkney's Cliveden in Buckinghamshire.

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[13] Vanbrugh, *Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, iv., p. 112. The biographical information in this section derives from Matthew Kilburn, 'Temple, Richard First Viscount Cobham (1675-1749)', *ODNB*; Eveline Cruickshanks and Stuart Handley, 'Temple, Sir Richard, 4th Bt. (1675-1749), of Stowe, Bucks.', *HoC 1690-1715*; *HoL 1660-1715*, iv., pp. 661-662. For a useful summary of the Temple family, Cobham, and the Stowe estate, see Beckett, *The Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, pp. 12-28.

I.

In light of Cobham's military background, the idea of martial or defensive features playing an important role in the development of Stowe's gardens warrants further investigation. Cobham's thoughts on such matters are tantalisingly hinted at in a 1724 letter of Vanbrugh's to one of his most important architectural patrons Charles Howard, 3rd Earl of Carlisle regarding the walling of the forecourt at Carlisle's great building project of Castle Howard in Yorkshire. Rather than punch a gateway through the middle of the wall, Vanbrugh suggested supplying the approach with two circular causeways on each side, adding 'My Lord Cobham is mightyly for this Expedient, and tells me he has seen the very thing done, to a Great Palace in Germany, and had, he thought an Admirable good effect, the plain Wall in the Front looking with a bolder air of Defence than if there had been a Gate through it.'[14] Certainly, some military influences at Stowe have been identified and researched by scholars.

A prime example of a military influence would be the ha-has that Stowe became known for amongst visitors. As one of them, Lord Perceval, described approvingly: 'What adds to the bewty of this garden is, that it is not bounded by Walls, but by a Ha-hah, which leaves you the sight of a bewtifull woody Country'.[15] The ha-ha around a piece of pasture at Stowe known as the Home Park was explicitly militaristic with stakes protruding horizontally from the side of the ditch facing the park (in other words, protruding from the scarp to the counterscarp) just like the stakes found on fortifications. The martial nature of this ha-ha was acknowledged by contemporaries, with the 3rd edition of Defoe's *Tour* (which included a description of Stowe) describing in 1742 that 'going along a sort of Fortification Walk on our Left-hand, the Wood on the other Hand, we enter'd the Field, which is inclosed in a military Way, with a staked Fence.'[16] This fortified ha-ha can be seen clearly in some of French

[14] *Ibid.*, iv., p. 164.
[15] *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe*, p. 16.
[16] Daniel Defoe and Samuel Richardson, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain. Divided into Circuits or Journeys,* 3rd edn. (4 vols., London, 1742), iii., pp. 274-275.

draughtsman and engraver Jacques Rigaud's views of Stowe from the mid-1730s,[17] and its military undertones have been remarked upon in the scholarship concerning Stowe.[18] This early ha-ha (described in estate records as 'ye first stockeade ditch by ye Lime Walk') was begun in February 1719 and finished that October whilst Cobham was on campaign in Spain. He obviously approved of the design as Vanbrugh and Bridgeman's ambitious plans for Stowe begun shortly afterwards saw an expansion of this style of ha-ha around the edge of the Home Park.[19] Although this overtly militaristic staked style of ha-ha was not adopted when a new stone-faced ha-ha was later constructed around Stowe's perimeter (completed by the mid-1730s),[20] the plan of the gardens marked out by the perimeter ha-ha still had a martial feel. As George B. Clarke points out, the pentagonal shape of the gardens at Stowe – punctuated by great bastions at the corners, 'was reminiscent of some Barrier fortress in the Low Countries.'[21] This can be most clearly seen in a plan of Stowe's gardens and park published by Bridgeman's widow in 1739 (fig. 2.3).[22] However, beyond this most obvious piece of military representation, it is apparent that the influence of Cobham's military career pervaded in other parts of the Stowe estate. To investigate this, it would be prudent to go back to the beginnings of Cobham's military career.

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[17] *Stowe Gardens in Buckinghamshire, Laid out by Mr Bridgeman, Delineated in a Large Plan, and Fifteen Perspective Views. Drawn on the Spot by Mons. Rigaud, Now Reprinted to Which is Added an Account of the Original Publication and Descriptive Notes to Each View by George B Clarke* (London, 1987), pl. 4, 8, 13. Rigaud and the engraver Bernard Baron were commissioned c. 1733, the views probably completed by 1736, and published in 1739, see Peter Willis, 'Jacques Rigaud's Drawings of Stowe in the Metropolitan Museum of Art', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Autumn 1972), pp. 85-98.

[18] George B. Clarke, 'Military Gardening at Stowe', *Country Life*, vol. 151, no. 3909 (18 May 1972), pp. 1254-1256; S. A. Mansbach, 'An Earthwork of Surprise: The 18th-Century Ha-Ha', *Art Journal*, vol. 42, no. 3 (Autumn 1982), pp. 217-221.

[19] Peter Willis, *Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden* (Newcastle, 2002), pp. 119-120; Clarke, 'Military Gardening at Stowe', p. 1256; Mansbach, 'An Earthwork of Surprise', p. 218.

[20] The perimeter ha-ha can be seen in Rigaud's views, see *Stowe Gardens… Drawn on the Spot by Mons. Rigaud*, pl. 2, 9.

[21] Clarke, 'Military Gardening at Stowe', p. 1254.

[22] *Stowe Gardens… Drawn on the Spot by Mons. Rigaud*, pl. 1.

Considering it was during William III's reign that Cobham's fledgling military career really became established, it is unsurprising to see this period commemorated in his later work at Stowe. The year 1702, when Temple acquired the colonelcy of a regiment for the first time, was evoked inside the house in the early 1730s when the painter, architect, and garden and furniture designer William Kent painted the ceiling of the north hall.[23] Kent depicted, in the words of a later travel guide, '*Mars*, in the likeness of King *William*,' who presented 'a Sword to the late Field Marshal Viscount *Cobham*, in allusion to that Prince having given him a Regiment at his first Entrance into the Army.'[24] In fact, Temple's acquisition of a regiment of foot in 1702 did not mark 'his first Entrance into the Army'. He was commissioned aged nine as an ensign in Prince George of Denmark's regiment in 1685 and served as a junior officer during the Nine Years' War.[25] Nevertheless, for the middle-aged Cobham the key moment of getting his own regimental command at the beginning of the War of Spanish Succession in William III's reign was evidently of great importance, hence its commemoration in the house at Stowe.

Although in the 1720s Cobham erected full-length statues of George I and the Prince and Princess of Wales (the future George II and Queen Caroline) in the gardens at Stowe, the long-dead William III never received sculptural commemoration on this scale. However, the Dutch king featured in a series of eight busts depicting famous individuals such as Elizabeth I and Shakespeare placed around 1730 in a structure built by the architect James Gibbs.[26] Around 1735 these were moved to a new Temple of British Worthies designed by William

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[23] For Kent, see Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 612-619. Kent was employed both in the house and gardens at Stowe.

[24] Benton Seeley, *Stowe: A Description of the Magnificent House and Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard Grenville Temple, Earl Temple, Viscount and Baron Cobham, One of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, new edn. (Buckingham, 1777), p. 34; Desmond Fitz-Gerald, 'A History of the Interior of Stowe', Apollo, vol. 97, no. 136 (June 1973), p. 573.

[25] Kilburn, 'Temple, Richard First Viscount Cobham (1675-1749)', *ODNB*.

[26] As described in Gilbert West, *Stowe, the Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Cobham. Address'd to Mr. Pope* (London, 1732), pp. 8-12.

Kent and supplemented with another eight busts of celebrated contemporary and historical figures. William III was the only one of the worthies who came from another country, although the inscription to the bust highlighted his central role in defending Britain's political constitution by emphasising that the 'bold and generous Enterprize' which was the 1688-9 Revolution had 'preserv'd the Liberty and Religion of Great Britain.'[27] Additionally, during the earlier years of refashioning the gardens at Stowe, Cobham made much use of the sort of gardening associated with William and Mary – sometimes thought of by garden historians as an imported 'Dutch-style'. In his study of Dutch influences on late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century English gardens, John Dixon Hunt argues that contemporaries perceived a link between Dutch and fortified gardens, perhaps influenced by the practice in the Low Countries (noted by English travellers such as Edward Southwell and John Evelyn) of ornamenting town fortifications with trees or using them as terrace walks.[28] As late as 1788, the historian and topographer Stebbing Shaw wrote of Holme Lacey in Herefordshire that 'The whole of this admirable place is complete in its style; built, I imagine, about the reign of William III… The gardens to the south front are all in King William's style of fortifications, surrounded with yew hedges, cut in a variety of forms, according to the taste of that time.'[29]

A similar scheme was implemented at Stowe. Jacques Rigaud's mid-1730s view of the parterre in front of the south portico of the house shows the development of a scheme originally laid out in Charles Bridgeman's c. 1720 artist's impression of his and Vanbrugh's proposals (figs. 2.4 and 2.5).[30] Whilst Rigaud's view shows that the parterre originally envisioned by Bridgeman ended up greatly simplified, the topiary and ornamental design

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[27] Benton Seeley, *A Description of the Gardens of Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire* (Northampton, 1744), p. 21.
[28] John Dixon Hunt, '"But Who Does Not Know What a Dutch Garden is?" The Dutch Garden in the English Imagination', in John Dixon Hunt (ed.), *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century* (Washington DC, 1990), pp. 184-187.
[29] Stebbing Shaw, *A Tour to the West of England, in 1788* (London, 1789), p. 174.
[30] *Stowe Gardens… Drawn on the Spot by Mons. Rigaud*, pl. 16; Bodl., MS. Gough Drawings, a. 4, fol. 46.

being abandoned in favour of basic terraced grass lawns, it is clear that much work went into shaping the hedges surrounding it. As an anonymous 1738 description of Stowe noted, immediately before the house was 'a large Parterre surrounded by a Ewe hedge, cutt into Niches and Pilasters of various forms, Several Statues, particularly those of the nine Muses, and Urns, being interspersed among them.'[31] Rigaud's view also shows that this meticulous pruning included hedges clipped into the shape of great battlemented turrets, described by Stowe historian George B. Clarke as being 'a military feature which was fitting in a general's garden.'[32] Whether it was Cobham who wanted to give this enclosed outside 'room' a military feel or one of his designers is unclear. It could have been an initiative of Vanbrugh's who is well-known for his fondness of battlements and, as he put it with regards to the 4th Earl of Manchester's country house at Kimbolton, giving his architecture 'Something of the Castle Air'.[33] Whether Cobham's parterre and fortified hedges should be specifically identified as 'Dutch' is another matter. In contrast to Dixon Hunt, more sceptical garden historians such as David Jacques have advocated wariness in giving such features a national label.[34]

However, if formal and martial elements like topiary battlements appealed to Cobham, they did not blind him to the need to update the garden as tastes changed. Criticisms of the parterre and the surrounding area began to emerge in the 1730s. Although there was a vista in the form of a gravel walk to the Octagon lake to the south of the parterre, it was altogether too narrow. In 1738 one visitor commented that the length of the walk was in undue proportion to its width,[35] and the 3rd edition of Defoe's *Tour* remarked in

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[31] *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe*, p. 72.
[32] *Stowe Gardens… Drawn on the Spot by Mons. Rigaud*, Clarke's description to pl. 16.
[33] Vanbrugh, *Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, iv., p. 14.
[34] David Jacques, 'Who Knows What a Dutch Garden is?', *Garden History*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Winter 2002), pp. 114-130. Also see Uta Janssens-Knorsch, 'From Het Loo to Hampton Court: William and Mary's Dutch Gardens and Their Influence on English Gardening', in Paul Hoftijzer and C. C. Barfoot (eds.), *Fabrics and Fabrications: The Myth and Making of William and Mary* (Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 277-296.
[35] *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe*, p. 72.

1742 that 'great Objections have been made to the Narrowness of it, which is, no doubt, an essential fault.'[36] Around this point Cobham appears to have accepted the need to modernise the area immediately south of the house, the *Tour* commenting of the parterre that 'it is likely this will be intirely altered; for if the lower End is laid open, there will appear a noble Scene, where Nature and Art are curiously blended.'[37] Over the course of the decade, subsequent guides by Benton Seeley and George Bickham also emphasised the changes taking place in the area around the parterre, emphasising the intention to improve the view.[38] By the 1740s therefore, the ageing Cobham was busy altering this formal, enclosed green 'room' for the sake of better prospects and the blurring together of nature with artificial ornamentation. Admittedly, as late as July 1748 Jemima Yorke, 2nd Marchioness Grey could still describe an old-fashioned 'green Parterre with Evergreens and a Hedge round it and a Narrow Walk of high Trees down the Hill', although she liked it better than most.[39] The end result of this process was depicted a few years after Cobham's death in Bickham's 1753 plan of Stowe's gardens where the old parterre surrounded by shaped battlemented hedgework is shown to have been replaced by an open lawn, still outlined by trees and shrubs but in a softer and more modern fashion.[40]

Another prominent feature of Cobham's work at Stowe were regimental rows and blocks of trees, used to control vistas as well as being ornaments in and of themselves. The term 'regimental' is used purposely here, as trees standing rank-upon-rank like soldiers are evoked in some of the poetry concerning Stowe in this period, and these verses are a useful

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[36] Defoe and Richardson, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, 3rd* edn., iii., p. 272.
[37] *Ibid.*, iii., p. 276.
[38] Seeley, *A Description of the Gardens of Lord Viscount Cobham*, p. 10; George Bickham, *The Beauties of Stow: Or, a Description of the Pleasant Seat, and Noble Gardens, of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Cobham* (London, 1750), p. 19.
[39] *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe*, p. 183.
[40] George Bickham, *The Beauties of Stow: Or, a Description of the Most Noble House, Gardens, and Magnificent Buildings Therein, of the Right Hon. Earl Temple, Viscount and Baron Cobham*, 3rd edn. (London, 1753?), 'A General Plan of the Most Noble House & Gardens of the Earl Temple at Stow. By G. Bickham. 1753.'

medium through which to explore other themes at Stowe such as its commemoration of the Hanoverian monarchy. Although Cobham's time in political opposition following the 1733 Excise Crisis and his subsequent courting of Frederick, Prince of Wales is better known in the historiography, it is important to remember that, when Cobham first began his great improvements at Stowe in the 1710s, he was still a Court Whig loyal to the administration. A monument at Stowe dating from this period was a 1723 equestrian statue of George I clad in armour (fig 2.6) — it being under the first Georgian king that Cobham had been elevated to the peerage and acquired various offices. The statue was placed to the north of the house at the end of a canal, with blocks of trees flanking each side and pairs of avenues of trees stretching east and west of the statue. The trees of the north front were described in a vividly militaristic manner by Cobham's nephew, the poet Gilbert West in 1732:

> Far o'er the level Green, in just array,
> Long Rows of Trees their adverse Fronts display.
> So when two Nations, fierce in Arms, prepare
> At one decisive Stroke to end the War,
> In seemly Order, e'ver the Battle joins,
> The marshal'd Hosts extend their threatening Lines
> And Files to Files oppos'd await the Word,
> That gives a Loose to the destroying Sword.[41]

Rising on a mount amongst this was George I, a gallant soldier-king, on horseback: 'For *Valour* much, but more for *Justice* known,/ *Brave* in the Field, and *Good* upon the Throne.'[42] Royalty and arboreal guardsmen are also evoked earlier in the poem, admittedly in a more subdued and less militaristic fashion, when West describes the Queen's Theatre. This was an earthwork feature at the end of a formal canal where stood a statue of Queen Caroline (erected in the mid-1720s whilst she was still Princess of Wales) atop four ionic columns: 'Amid the level Green a Mirror [the canal] spread;/ Along whose terrass'd Banks

[41] West, *Stowe, the Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Cobham*, p. 28.
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29. For George I and George II as Protestant soldier-kings, see Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, pp. 21-32.

the shelt'ring Wood,/ Defends from ruder Winds th' unruffled Flood', and beyond this defensive wood stood the 'sylvan *Theatre*' containing Queen Caroline.[43]

The trees at Stowe could also be emblematic or monuments of Cobham's own qualities. Though the narrowness of the Abele walk of poplars that connected the south parterre to the Octagon Lake was criticised by commentators, there was a counterargument to alteration. As the 3rd edition of the Defoe guide put it, 'since every Tree may be deem'd a sort of Obelisk to the Honour of the noble Planter, it makes a good Excuse for their standing; and the rather, as, if they were taken away, it would create an Evil, which could not be remedied in 40 years.'[44] A Doric pillar to Lord Cobham, topped by a cupola and a statue of him, was erected at Stowe by Lady Cobham in 1748 and designed, as the English inscription explained, 'To preserve the memory of her husband'.[45] In the absence of a stone monument such as this before 1748, it is not surprising that some of the larger trees at Stowe would serve as surrogate monuments and play a similar role in memorialising Cobham and his impact on the landscape at Stowe. In a different take on this idea of arboreal metaphors at Stowe, the Scottish poet James Thomson (who became involved with the 'Patriot' opposition and famously wrote the lyrics to *Rule, Britannia!*)[46] added a section on Stowe to his enlarged and revised version of his four-part poem *The Seasons* in 1744. Similar to West, a connection between trees and soldiers is made, but this time in a lamenting fashion: 'What pity, COBHAM, thou thy verdant Files/ Of order'd Trees shouldst here inglorious range,/ Instead of Squadrons flaming o'er the Field', later concluding that if Cobham would return to commanding real troops rather than trees 'The BRITISH YOUTH would hail thy wise

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[43] West, *Stowe, the Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Cobham*, pp. 19-20.
[44] Defoe and Richardson, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain.,* 3rd edn., iii., p. 272.
[45] For the column and its inscriptions, see Richard Pococke, *The Travels Through England of Dr. Richard Pococke, Successively Bishop of Meath and of Ossory, During 1750, 1751, and Later Years*, ed. James J. Cartwright (2 vols., London, 1888-1889), ii., pp. 240-241.
[46] For *Rule, Britannia!* as part of the oppositional masque *Alfred*, see Oliver Cox, 'Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the First Performance of Rule, "Britannia!"', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 56, issue 4 (December 2013), pp. 931-954.

Command,/ Thy temper'd Ardor and thy veteran skill.'[47] In this case, the link between trees and soldiers is negative, rather than have only regiments of ordered trees under his command at Stowe, Cobham should be leading the forces in the field against the French once again, this time in the context of the ongoing War of Austrian Succession.

Back during the War of Spanish Succession, Stowe's timber stocks also played a role in the relationship between Sir Richard Temple (as Cobham was then styled) and his commander, the Duke of Marlborough. Temple's army career prospered under Marlborough's leadership and rose from a colonel in 1702 to a lieutenant-general in 1710. Indeed, in October 1709, Marlborough wrote to Godolphin and mentioned his intention to provide Temple with an older regiment which would be less likely broken up at the end of the war.[48] On a political note, back in November 1704 Marlborough granted leave to Temple so that he could return to England and attend the poll of the Buckinghamshire by-election, which he won. Whiggish as he may have been, Temple was a reliable Court ally and Godolphin was keen to have him back in the Commons.[49] During the construction of Blenheim, Temple made his timber reserves available for the Duke's great building project, although it would be inaccurate to see Temple as submissively handing over his stocks in order to gain favour with Marlborough. On the contrary, even for such an illustrious buyer, Temple kept a close eye on the profit margins. In January 1706, Vanbrugh remarked to William Boulter, one of Blenheim's comptroller of the works, that 'Sr Richard Temple tells me, he has resolv'd to dispose this next Season of the rest of his Timber and therfore desires to know if there be any farther want at Blenheim. He do's not say anything of raising his Price, tho' he threatned last Year.' Vanbrugh was hopeful the price would remain the same.[50] Nevertheless, the point remains that Marlborough and Temple had an economic

[47] James Thomson, *The Seasons* (London, 1744), p. 177.
[48] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, iii., p. 1393.
[49] *Ibid.*, i., p. 398.
[50] Vanbrugh, *Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, iv., p. 208.

relationship, and the wording of Vanbrugh's letter implies Marlborough had been given priority purchasing rights to Temple's timber, with other buyers being kept at bay until Temple knew whether his commander was in need or not. Vanbrugh requested information from Boulter about timber prices and Blenheim's current stock, hoping to receive a reply 'as soon as possible, Sr Richard desiring an Answer, that if we want no more he may Agree with Other People who he says are now treating.'[51]

Associating trees and avenues with military themes like West and Thomson did is not unique to Stowe or the first half of the eighteenth century. In his essay on the political iconography of trees and woodland in England between 1770 and 1830, Stephen Daniels notes that 'Formal styles of parkland planting, with long vistas radiating from the country, expressed a military sense of command. Informal styles were more artful but no less domineering. The site, size and tonality of 'Capability' Brown's clumps enhanced the size of a park and the pleasure of running one's eyes possessively over its contours.'[52] Picturesque theorist and landowner Uvedale Price explicitly made the link between soldiers and Brown's tree clumps in his 1794 *An Essay on the Picturesque*: 'clumps, like compact bodies of soldiers, resist attacks from all quarters: examine them in every point of view; walk round and round them; no opening, no vacancy, no stragglers, but in the true military character, ils font face partout [they face everywhere].'[53] Neither should the explicitly military language of the poets celebrating Stowe's gardens be seen as revolutionary. Their martial metaphors hark back to Andrew Marvell's poem *Upon Appleton House* written in the early 1650s for the parliamentarian commander Thomas Fairfax, 3rd Lord Fairfax of Cameron. As literary scholars such as Katherine Acheson have emphasised, Marvell's description of Fairfax's country

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[51] *Ibid.*

[52] Stephen Daniels, 'The Political Iconography of Woodland in Later Georgian England', in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (eds.), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 45.

[53] Uvedale Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; And, on the Use of Studying Pictures, for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape* (London, 1794), pp. 191-192.

estate at Nun Appleton in Yorkshire combines the horticultural with the military. The garden was laid out in the shape of a fort with five bastions, its soldierly denizens including the bee who beat its drum to wake the flowers. The latter, displaying 'Silken Ensigns', then fired their perfumed volleys to salute Fairfax and his wife as they passed by.[54]

Furthermore, whilst poets such as West and Thomson may have made connections between elements of the garden at Stowe and the military, that does not necessarily mean Cobham did the same. However, even if Cobham did not explicitly link trees with soldiers when touring his gardens, there can be little question that avenues and trees were used to dominate, control, and manipulate garden features such as the views and prospects open to visitors at particular vantage points. Whilst planting trees and avenues to frame a particular vista was common practice in garden design in this period, the extent to which Cobham and his gardeners aimed to control visitors' experiences of Stowe was noted by travellers. Furthermore, in the earlier years when the gardens were smaller, Cobham evidently used these sorts of techniques to deceive visitors' perceptions of Stowe's size. Lord Perceval commented of his August 1724 visit to Stowe that, whilst Cobham's gardens were only twenty-eight acres, they 'by reason of the good contrivance of the walks, seem to be three times as large as they are', taking Perceval's group two hours to explore.[55] Cobham's control and domination of the terrain more generally at Stowe also features in verse. For example, in Samuel Boyse's 1742 poem *The Triumphs of Nature*, Boyse refers to Cobham taming 'the *genius* of the rugged soil;/ Which gave the face of *nature* pow'r to warm,/ And soften'd every *blemish* to a *charm*.'[56] In other words, only Cobham's mastery of the earth at Stowe could, in turn, enable nature to do its work in beautifying the gardens. Of course, it is

[54] Andrew Marvell, *Miscellaneous Poems* (London, 1681), p. 86; Katherine O. Acheson, 'Military Illustration, Garden Design, and Marvell's "Upon Appleton House"', *English Literary Renaissance*, vol. 41, no. 1 (Winter 2011), pp. 146-188.
[55] *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe*, p. 15.
[56] Samuel Boyse, 'The Triumphs of Nature. A Poem. On the Magnificent Gardens at Stowe in Buckinghamshire, the Seat of the Rt Hon. Ld Cobham', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 12 (June-August 1742), p. 380.

important that these sorts of comments are not seen in isolation. Boyse's 1734 poem *Loch Rian*, which celebrated the Scottish estate of Cobham's fellow soldier the 2nd Earl of Stair at Castle Kennedy, expressed similar sentiment when Boyse remarked to Stair that 'nature waits your all-improving hand' and that 'While placid you adorn the naked plain,/ And groves and vistas rise as you ordain!'[57]

Acheson observes that 'Military strategy and gardening are both forms of "dominion" through which open spaces are made into territory and possession.'[58] For example, earthworks and complex grading of the terrain have strong military connotations. In his study of Versailles and seventeenth-century French garden design, Chandra Mukerji stresses the influence of military fortresses on the formality of French gardens. Earthworks played an important role in this as 'French formal gardens were constructed with complex grading like fortresses to embed their surface geometries into the earth.' Terracing was used to raise and lower points in the garden to control visitors' visibility, and Murkerji argues that 'This kind of systematic structuring of visibility and invisibility through grading was derived from the design of battlements.'[59] However, one should be wary when applying these concepts to Stowe. Similar gradation of the earth to that described by Mukerji was practised at Stowe at features such as Vanbrugh's Lake Pavilions[60] and the Queen's Theatre (fig. 2.7).[61] But visitors to Stowe do not seem to have viewed these like Mukerji does seventeenth-century French gardens. For example, the description of the Queen's Theatre in a 1744 guide contains no military connotations: 'The late Queen's Statue is erected on four Ionic Columns, in a green Amphitheatre laid out in the rural Way'.[62] Likewise, the Defoe guide of 1742 framed the Queen's Theatre within the familiar language of nature and art, describing it as 'a

[57] Samuel Boyse, 'Loch Rian. To the Right Hon. the Earl of Stair. Written in the Year 1734', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 12 (May 1742), p. 269.
[58] Acheson, 'Military Illustration, Garden Design, and Marvell's "Upon Appleton House"', p. 179.
[59] Chandra Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 39.
[60] *Stowe Gardens… Drawn on the Spot by Mons. Rigaud*, pl. 3, 11.
[61] *Ibid.*, pl. 8, 15.
[62] Seeley, *A Description of the Gardens of Lord Viscount Cobham*, p. 11.

neat Amphitheatre of Slopes, with pastoral Figures each Way from it. Nature and Art here, joining together, make an agreeable Contraste.'[63] Nevertheless, just because contemporary visitors did not couch their descriptions of these features in military terms does not mean Mukerji's analysis should be discarded. For example, the terminology of fortification was applied to the western corner of the garden in 1732 when Gilbert West referred to 'swelling Bastions' upon which Cobham was constructing two structures known as the Boycott buildings.[64]

II.

So far, visitors' accounts, descriptions, and poetry about Stowe have been of invaluable use in helping to decode the meanings behind the estate. However, a figure often missing from these accounts is Lord Cobham himself. Unfortunately, despite Stowe's popularity and fame, Cobham has not left a large paper trail of correspondence behind him. When he is mentioned in the letters of others, it is often fleeting or focused on physical appearance. For example, the Cambridge student Robert Buxton wrote after a visit to Stowe in 1729 that 'The owner [Cobham] whom we saw creeping at middle age in a manner… could but just walk,' blaming debauchery in his youth.[65] In 1739 an acquaintance, Mary Pendarves, similarly remarked that Cobham's 'thin, decayed carcase… contains a spirit that is surprizing.'[66] Nevertheless, some of Cobham's feelings about his work at Stowe can be discerned from his will where he expressed 'an earnest desire that my Capital Mansion House and Gardens at Stowe may always be supported and kept in the same Manner they now are'. Cobham also annexed his books, furniture, and other chattels to the Stowe estate as heirlooms so that they were 'considered as part of the Freehold thereof and shall not for

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[63] Defoe and Richardson, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain,* 3rd edn., iii., p. 277.
[64] West, *Stowe, the Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Cobham*, p. 30.
[65] *John Buxton, Norfolk Gentleman and Architect: Letters to his Son 1719-1729*, ed. Alan Mackley (Norwich, 2005), p. 197.
[66] Delany, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, ii., p. 43.

the payment of my Debts and Legacys or upon any other Account be sold or disposed of'.[67] In light of the time, money, and energy he ploughed into the estate, it can be readily assumed that Cobham felt strongly about his creation and it presumably played an important part in his identity and self-fashioning.

Certainly, this was the case at Shotover in Oxfordshire (fig. 2.8), where William Kent (later employed by Cobham at Stowe) contributed to the development of the gardens belonging to Colonel James Tyrrell (c. 1674-1742), who had continued the work begun on the estate by his father James Tyrrell (1642-1718), a political writer, historian, and friend of John Locke.[68] Kent's additions to the gardens in the 1720s included an octagonal temple and an obelisk constructed on an avenue leading from the main front of the house to an octagon pond.[69] Tyrrell, who by 1739 had risen to the rank of lieutenant-general, considered the development of his Shotover estate an important part of his identity and how he wished to be remembered. After specifying in his will that he wished to have a 'very private' funeral and be buried in the church in Oakley, Buckinghamshire where his relatives were buried, Tyrrell added: 'If my Executor thinks fit to put up any Monument [in the church] I desire there may be this Inscription - Here lyes the Body of James Tyrrell Lieut Genl &c of his Majesty's Forces who built the house at Shotover and made the Gardens there'.[70] Shotover was only about thirty miles from Stowe, so Tyrrell may have been aware of the developments of his fellow soldier and Court Whig (as Cobham was until the 1730s), or even have visited Stowe himself. Certainly, an interest in other landowners' landscape projects is

[67] TNA, PROB 11/773/443, fols. 326-327.
[68] For Shotover, see Brooks and Sherwood, *Oxfordshire: North and West*, pp. 465-468; Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole*, pp. 126-127; Mavis Batey, 'The Pleasures of the Imagination: Joseph Addison's Influence on Early Landscape Gardens,' *Garden History*, vol. 33, no. 2 (Autumn 2005), pp. 198-200; Bodl., MS. Gough Maps 26, fol. 71. For Tyrrell, see Romney R. Sedgwick, 'Tyrrell, James (c.1674-1742), of Shotover, Oxon.', *HoC 1715-1754*.
[69] The octagonal temple was constructed by the Oxford mason William Townesend in 1724-1725, see Howard Colvin, 'The Townesends of Oxford: A Firm of Georgian Master-Masons and its Accounts', *The Georgian Group Journal*, vol. 10 (2000), p. 58. For designs by Kent for the temple and obelisk at Shotover, see *Designs of Inigo Jones and Others Published by I: Ware* (London, 1733), pl. 38-39, 42.
[70] TNA, PROB 11/720/327, fol. 371.

suggested by Vanbrugh's remark in April 1722 that Tyrrell was praising the mock fortification outworks at Castle Howard which he presumably visited on a trip to Yorkshire (Tyrrell was MP for the nearby seat of Boroughbridge).[71]

The letters of Alexander Pope, a friend of Cobham's from the mid-1720s and a regular guest at Stowe, help greatly in revealing the company Cobham kept at his country estate. Pope's 1731 epistle to Lord Burlington made reference to Stowe and he later addressed another epistle to Cobham who in November 1733 offered advice on how to improve the work.[72] Pope was later immortalised as a bust in Stowe's Temple of British Worthies but by 1740 had become disillusioned with Cobham and the 'Patriots'.[73] Pope's letters provide documented examples of Cobham's army colleagues visiting Stowe, some of which had political undertones considering Cobham's prominent place in the opposition to Walpole. For example, Pope wrote that Field Marshal John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll was at Stowe in July 1739, he apparently being 'the Happiest Man [he] ever was in his life.'[74] Argyll openly split with Walpole's ministry around this time following his opposition to the government's plans to implement punitive measures against Edinburgh after the murder of the captain of the town guard, John Porteous, in 1736.[75]

Not all Cobham's visits from officers were this politically-charged however. Some presumably visited Cobham's famous gardens at Stowe to get ideas for their own country estates. Pope described being spontaneously taken to Stowe in August 1731 'by the Impetuous Spirit' of Major-General James Dormer (1679-1741), younger brother and heir of

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[71] Vanbrugh, *Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, iv., p. 142.
[72] Alexander Pope, *An Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Earl of Burlington. Occasion'd by his Publishing Palladio's Designs of the Baths, Arches, Theatres, &c. of Ancient Rome* (London, 1731), pp. 7-8; Alexander Pope, *An Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Lord Visct. Cobham* (London, 1733 [1734]); *Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, iii., pp. 391-394.
[73] Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole*, pp. 90-93.
[74] *Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, iv., p. 185.
[75] Alexander Murdoch, *'The People Above': Politics and Administration in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 31-32; John Stuart Shaw, *The Political History of Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Basingstoke, 1999), pp. 69-70.

Colonel Robert Dormer (1676-1737) of Rousham in Oxfordshire.[76] Both Robert and James Dormer employed the same fashionable garden designers as Cobham, the former employing Charles Bridgeman after inheriting Rousham in 1719 and the latter William Kent after inheriting in 1737.[77] Whilst much smaller than Stowe, the fruits of the brothers' labours at Rousham were greatly admired by connoisseurs. The opposition MP George Berkeley remarked during a trip to Stowe in 1734 that 'Charming as Stowe certainly is, I own a partiality for Rowsham', citing its 'delightful stream'.[78] On this occasion, Berkeley was accompanied to Stowe by a number of other guests including Pope and James Dormer. The interaction between them and their host can only be described as jocular banter: 'Stowe is in great beauty, the master of it [Cobham] in good health and excellent spirits, by which the major-general [Dormer] gets a new tormentor; not that his old one [Pope] was not sufficient, who has really laughed himself fat at poor Jemmy's [Dormer's] expense, who in proportion has fretted himself lean.'[79] It is easy to appreciate how, in this atmosphere of conviviality, new garden and landscape developments at Stowe could be passed on through informal social interaction to friends like Dormer and influence their future projects. Certainly, Sally Jeffery has suggested that Cobham's old Kit-Cat club associate, the Earl of Carlisle, was inspired by what he saw at Stowe when he visited in 1725 for his own landscape projects at Castle Howard.[80]

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[76] *Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, iii., p. 216. For Dormer, see H.M. Chichester, 'Dormer, James (1679-1741)', rev. Jonathan Spain, *ODNB*.
[77] For Rousham, see Brooks and Sherwood, *Oxfordshire: North and West*, pp. 442-449; Kenneth Woodbridge, 'William Kent's Gardening: The Rousham Letters', *Apollo*, vol. 100, no. 152 (October 1974), pp. 282-291; Mavis Batey, 'The Way to View Rousham by Kent's Gardener', *Garden History*, vol. 11, no. 2 (Autumn 1983), pp. 125-132; Ulrich Müller, *Klassischer Geschmack und Gotische Tugend: Der Englische Landsitz Rousham* (Worms, 1998); Gerhard Bissell, 'Rousham Inside and Out', *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*, vol. 29, issue 1-2 (2009), pp. 33-43.
[78] *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk*, ii., p. 76.
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] Jeffery posits that the Temple of Venus at Castle Howard was influenced by Vanbrugh's Rotunda at Stowe, see Sally Jeffery, 'Hawksmoor's Vision of Wray Wood, Castle Howard', *Architectural History*, vol. 61 (2018), pp. 60-61.

A similar dynamic can be seen in the visit to Stowe made in August 1730 by Charles Cathcart (c. 1686-1740) (fig. 2.9), a Scottish army officer who served in the War of Spanish Succession under George Macartney and the 2nd Earl of Stair, later fighting in Scotland during the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion and becoming colonel of a regiment of foot in 1717. In 1732 Cathcart succeeded his father as 8th Lord Cathcart and died en-route to the West Indies in 1740 holding the rank of major-general.[81] Shortly after his visit, Colonel Cathcart wrote approvingly of what he had seen at Stowe to his cousin and former military commander, Lord Stair:

> I was charmed with Cobham and with his place. The gardens, to my mind, are laid out with more taste than anything I have seen in England, and the ridings he had made through his park are noble. He is much the better for his having been at Tunbridge, and is as keen and as happy with his country operations as an old friend of his [Stair] can be in Galloway [where Stair was laying out new gardens at Castle Kennedy], about whom we had much discourse.

After describing some other seats which he had visited, Cathcart concluded that he was 'much pleased with my expedition. If your lordship should happen to make the same tour, it will put you as little out of conceit with Castle Kennedy and Newliston [another Scottish estate of Stair's] as it did me with Auchencree [Auchincruive].'[82] Auchincruive in Ayrshire was Cathcart's ancestral estate and it is revealing that Cathcart's visits to Stowe and other English seats made him reflect (positively) on his own landed estate in Scotland. In 1723, Cathcart had begun to redevelop the gardens and parkland at Auchincruive by employing the Edinburgh-based nurseryman William Boutcher to design a new formal landscape.[83] With his mind on his own estate developments, it is therefore no wonder that Cathcart was

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[81] *The Scots Peerage Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland Containing an Historical and Genealogical Account of the Nobility of that Kingdom*, ed. James Balfour Paul (9 vols., Edinburgh, 1904-1914), ii., pp. 518-520; Dalton, *English Army Lists*, v., pp. 36, 224, vi., 33-34, 180, 197, 300, 314-315; Dalton, *George the First's Army*, i., pp. 107, 191, 210, 224, ii., p. 166.
[82] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., pp. 166-168.
[83] 'Historic Environment Scotland, Auchincruive'. Accessed 4 January 2017 at http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/GDL00031.

interested in Cobham's work at Stowe, and he may have sought to learn from the latest gardening styles and techniques being deployed there by Cobham and his designers.

Not only did Cathcart write to Stair with an account of his visit to Stowe, he also recorded (in French) the experience in his diary where Cobham features prominently. Whilst Cathcart greatly enjoyed Stowe, he was not without criticism. For instance, he thought Vanbrugh's pyramid in the gardens was poorly executed. Similarly, whilst describing the park beyond the gardens as 'magnifiques' overall, Cathcart criticised the face or front of the park as he felt Cobham had shown little effort to render it 'plus amies et jolie.' [84] Cathcart's criticism of the face of the park was not unique and, in and of itself, not particularly interesting. The Marchioness Grey (who was very critical of Stowe during her 1748 visit), also wrote that the part of the park nearest the garden 'is bare like itself and not pleasant'.[85] What makes Cathcart's criticism notable is the fact that he made these comments to Cobham's face and recorded his reaction. Regarding Cathcart's criticism of the park, Cobham thought it reasonable and remarked he would leave improving the face of the park to his successors at Stowe.[86] George B. Clarke muses that Cathcart's ability to critique Stowe in front of Cobham was 'a privilege perhaps reserved for an old comrade-in-arms',[87] although equally it could have been something Cobham accepted from any trusted friend.

Certainly, Cobham cared about Cathcart's input as he also showed him the designs for finishing the gardens (doubtless referring to the area that later became William Kent's Elysian Fields) and took the plans with them as they travelled around the gardens to presumably help illustrate what he intended to achieve.[88] Cobham also showed Cathcart designs for the west Boycott building, a structure designed to be accommodation for

[84] NLS, Acc. 12686/3 (Papers of the family of Cathcart of Cathcart Lords, Viscounts and Earls Cathcart), entry dated 18 August 1730.
[85] *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe*, p. 185.
[86] NLS, Acc. 12686/3, entry dated 18 August 1730.
[87] *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe*, p. 28.
[88] NLS, Acc. 12686/3, entries dated 18-19 August 1730.

Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Speed (an old army colleague of Cobham's) who unfortunately died in 1731 before it was finished.[89] In his Stowe poem of 1732, Gilbert West consequently lamented 'Unhappy *Speed*!', the 'Faithful Companion' of Cobham both during his years of active service as well as his subsequent peaceful retirement at Stowe where Cobham 'had destin'd thy delightful Seat.'[90] Cobham may have been motivated to show Cathcart the plans for Speed's accommodation due to its architectural merits. However, he was likely also motivated by its function as a home for an ageing soldier, something Cobham felt Cathcart would have been interested in or been able to contribute useful feedback towards.

The west Boycott building was not the only 'monument' for one of Cobham's army colleagues. Another ornamental feature at Stowe was an obelisk erected in memory of Robert Coucher (d. 1716), the chaplain of the dragoon regiment which Temple had commanded at the end of the War of Spanish Succession (fig. 2.10).[91] Had Cathcart been visiting Stowe at the end of the 1740s, Cobham would have been able to show him yet another monument to a military man, in this case a family member in the navy rather than someone Cobham had served alongside in the army. Not long after the death of Cobham's nephew Captain Thomas Grenville (1719-1747) at the first battle of Cape Finisterre in 1747, a rostral column ornamented with marine elements was erected at Stowe commemorating him. Patrick Eyres suggests that the monument had a navalist political subtext amidst the ongoing disagreements over the strategic direction of the War of Austrian Succession.[92] In addition, Cobham may have been attempting to contrast Grenville's bravery at Cape

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[89] *Ibid.*, entry dated 19 August 1730; Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vi., pp. 145, 349; Dalton, *George the First's Army*, i., pp. 119, 264.
[90] West, *Stowe, the Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Cobham*, pp. 30-31. Speed's daughter Henrietta became a companion of Lady Cobham, and Lord Cobham left her £1000 in his will, see TNA, PROB 11/773/443, fol. 327.
[91] West, *Stowe, the Gardens of the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Cobham*, p. 16; *Stowe Gardens… Drawn on the Spot by Mons. Rigaud*, pl. 13; Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vi., p. 37; Dalton, *George the First's Army*, i., p. 331.
[92] Patrick Eyres, 'Neoclassicism on Active Service: Commemoration of the Seven Years War in the English Landscape Garden', *New Arcadian Journal*, no. 35/36 (1993), pp. 68-70.

Finisterre with the embarrassing aftermath of the indecisive battle of Toulon in 1744 which had resulted in a number of officers being dismissed including the commander, Admiral Thomas Mathews.[93]

Certainly, Cobham had long viewed his nephew's sea service with pride. Surviving correspondence of Grenville's commanding officer, Rear-Admiral Nicholas Haddock, after Grenville became a lieutenant (initially third, eventually rising to first) on Haddock's flagship the *Somerset* in 1740 provides a valuable demonstration of the Cobham network in action.[94] In the first couple of months of 1741, not only was Haddock sent a very obliging letter by Cobham thanking him for his patronage of the fledgling navy officer, but he also received letters expressing similar sentiments from Richard Grenville (Thomas's brother) and John Fane, 7th Earl of Westmorland (1686-1762).[95] Referring to Thomas Grenville as 'an old Friend of mine,' Westmorland emphasised his links with the Grenville-Temple interest, remarking of Grenville's commission that 'I cou'd not forbear rejoycing very much, for his own Sake, having a particular tenderness for him; and for the sake of a Family; he belongs to, with whom it is my happiness to live, in the most intimate Friendship.'[96]

Like Cobham, Westmorland was by this point an old army veteran deprived of his regiment and out of favour with the King and Walpole following his agitation in the Lords in 1737 for an increase in Frederick, Prince of Wales's allowance.[97] Westmorland's friendship with Cobham was shortly afterwards commemorated when a marble bust of Westmorland sculpted in 1742 by Thomas Ady (fig. 2.11) was placed in Cobham's new Temple of

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[93] For the political aftermath of Toulon, see P. A. Luff, 'Mathews v. Lestock: Parliament, Politics and the Navy in Mid-Eighteenth-Century England', *Parliamentary History*, vol. 10, issue 1 (May 1991), pp. 45-62; Banister, *Masculinity, Militarism and Eighteenth-Century Culture*, pp. 44-71.
[94] Daniel A. Baugh, 'Grenville, Thomas Henry (1719-1747)', *ODNB*.
[95] BL, Egerton MS 2529 (Correspondence and papers of the family of Haddock), fols. 86-87, 98-99, 101-102. Haddock was later sent some venison presumably by way of thanks, see *Ibid.*, fol. 122.
[96] *Ibid.*, fol. 98.
[97] Jonathan Spain, 'Fane, John, Seventh Earl of Westmorland (bap. 1686, d. 1762)', *ODNB*.

Friendship at Stowe designed by James Gibbs. Here it formed part of a politically-charged arrangement of busts of opposition figures consisting of Cobham and his various allies, friends, and relatives – namely Prince Frederick, the Earls of Westmorland, Chesterfield, and Marchmont, Lords Gower and Bathurst, and 'Cobham's Cubs' Richard Grenville, William Pitt, and George Lyttelton.[98] Cobham and Westmorland were bound by personal, professional, and political ties, and by joining in with the familial celebrations of the blossoming of Thomas Grenville's career at sea in the early 1740s, Westmorland was further promoting his affiliation with Cobham's family and the 'Patriots'.

III.

As the example of Westmorland shows, these less obvious ways of looking at Stowe should exist alongside, rather than replace, the more traditional explanations of Stowe which have focused on its role in the anti-Walpole 'Patriot' opposition. Whilst no other country estate belonging to a military officer expressed this sort of partisan-political sentiment so blatantly and to quite the same extent as Stowe, that does not mean however that broader links cannot be made between it and other officers' estates. In this section, one particularly well-documented linking theme will be explored, that of the relationship between country houses and the monarchy.

Stowe and other soldiers' houses fulfilled a role played by country estates for centuries – that of impressing and hosting members of the royal family during progresses or other visits. At Stowe, the late seventeenth-century house Cobham inherited from his father underwent constant expansion and renovation throughout his life to the designs of several eminent architects such as Sir John Vanbrugh, Giacomo Leoni, William Kent, and James

[98] Seeley, *A Description of the Gardens of Lord Viscount Cobham*, p. 26. For Westmorland's bust, see 'John Fane, 7th Earl of Westmorland'. Accessed 18 November 2017 at http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O75154/john-fane-7th-earl-of-bust-ady-thomas.

Gibbs.[99] These extensions were essentially piecemeal, the façade of Cobham's house being likened to a row of street fronts by the twentieth-century architectural historian Laurence Whistler. An important motivation behind Cobham's expansion of the house was that of making it fit and large enough to host royalty. The princely figure foremost in his mind for a significant part of this period would have been the Patriots' king-in-waiting Frederick, Prince of Wales, who visited Cobham at Stowe in July 1737.[100] Certainly, Frederick's visit spurred yet another phase of work in the gardens such as the aforementioned Temple of Friendship and the 'imperial' Palladian Bridge built c. 1739.[101] Travellers to Stowe who saw the house could nearly always find new construction work to comment on – be that additional wings or a new colonnade, such as the antiquary John Loveday in 1731 and 1735, and Philip Yorke (later 2nd Earl of Hardwicke) in 1744.[102] Similar observations were made in guides to Stowe, the Defoe guide of 1742 remarking that Cobham was 'annually adding to and improving' the house.[103]

The royal purpose behind aspects of Cobham's work on the mansion was noted by visitor Lady Sophia Newdigate in 1748. A new ongoing project inside the house was 'a prodigiously large bedchamber', the walls still bare brick but which had apparently already cost £10,000. This was to contain a bed raised upon steps ready for if Cobham hosted any

[99] For a history of the house, see Michael Gibbon, 'Stowe House, 1680-1779', *Apollo*, vol. 97, no. 136 (June 1973), pp. 552-557.
[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 552-553; Cox, 'Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the First Performance of Rule, "Britannia!"', p. 937.
[101] For the latter, see Mikolaj Getka-Kenig, 'The Palladian Bridge Revisited: The Imperial Ideology of Classicism and the Architectural Replication of a Garden Pavilion', *Garden History*, vol. 44, no. 1 (Summer 2016), pp. 95-97.
[102] John Loveday, *The Tours of John Loveday of Caversham 1728 to 1765* (transcribed from the original manuscripts by Sarah Markham, copy of which kindly supplied to the author by John Markham), pp. 51, 271; Philip Yorke Earl of Hardwicke, 'The Travel Journal of Philip Yorke 1744-63', in Joyce Godber (ed.), *The Marchioness Grey of Wrest Park* (Bedford, 1968), p. 125.
[103] Defoe and Richardson, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain,* 3rd edn., iii., pp. 275-276; Seeley, *A Description of the Gardens of Lord Viscount Cobham*, p. 12.

member of the royal family at Stowe in the future.[104] However, by 1748 the 'Patriot' opposition of the Walpole years had disintegrated and Cobham himself seems to have largely retired, so it is difficult to read Cobham's construction of this new state bedchamber for visiting royalty as a particularly partisan or pro-Frederick gesture. Instead, Cobham's hopes for future royal visits at Stowe should be seen in the context of more general factors such as the desire to exhibit one's art collection and other material possessions. As Dana Arnold notes, the display of an owner's taste in their country houses 'endorsed the cultural superiority of the nobility and reinforced their position among their peers.'[105] Similarly, the traditional idea of hospitality would have motivated Cobham. Whilst this period saw an overall decline in country house hospitality (particularly towards tenants and the local populace) as their owners spent more time in London and at spa resorts, the planning and fitting up of guest apartments in country houses remained of great importance.[106] Two other country estates belonging to senior army officers which hosted royalty – General Sabine's Tewin and the Earl of Orkney's Cliveden, demonstrate these dual motivations in actions.

The Tewin estate in Hertfordshire was bought in 1715 by Major-General Joseph Sabine (1661-1739) (fig. 2.12), a Flanders veteran who later commanded forces in Scotland after the 1715 Jacobite Rising. In later life he served as Governor of Berwick-upon-Tweed (1719-1730), MP for Berwick-upon-Tweed (1727-1734), and Governor of Gibraltar (1730-1739), being promoted to lieutenant-general in 1727 and general in 1730.[107] Swiss traveller César de Saussure, who visited England in the 1720s, wrote a description of Tewin in 1728,

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[104] *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe*, p. 177. For more on Stowe's State Bedchamber, now known as the Garter Room, see Michael Bevington, 'The Garter Room at Stowe House', *The Georgian Group Journal*, vol. 15 (2006), pp. 140-158.
[105] Dana Arnold, 'The Country House and its Publics', in Dana Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud, 1998), p. 22.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 23; Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order*, pp. 94-97.
[107] Jonathan Spain, 'Sabine, Joseph (1661-1739)', *ODNB*; Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Sabine, Joseph (c.1661-1739), of Tewin, Herts.', *HoC 1715-1754*.

noting that Sabine had spent nearly £40,000 on building and furnishing the house.[108] The same year, Nathaniel Salmon saw fit to include Tewin in his *History of Hertfordshire*, noting that Sabine had 'rebuilt the House, and all the Offices, in a magnificent Manner, and improved the Gardens.'[109] De Saussure made it clear that he was but one of many visitors to 'this fine house, or rather palace', amongst whom included George I who, 'under pretext of hunting, visited it twice.'[110] Whilst the Sabine family may have offered good hospitality, visitors such as the King were apparently more drawn by Sabine's 'two rooms in particular which are really works of art.' The first of these was full of Italian and Greek marbles with a fresco ceiling 'by a clever Roman painter', and the second was a hall with a carved wooden staircase, 'the artist having encrusted these woods in a wonderfully clever manner with tints and colours, and has succeeded in shaping them into lovely flowers, figures and landscapes, in perfect imitation of nature.'[111] Sabine was presumably proud of his collection of fine art and craftsmanship, augmented by military trophies such as the silver basin and ewer presented to him by the magistrates of Ghent where Sabine had served as governor during the War of Spanish Succession.[112] Although Sabine held no place at court, George I's attraction to Tewin due to its fine decoration is corroborated by Ragnhild Hatton's observation that the King was fond of visiting his ministers' and courtiers' estates (assuming they were not too far from the royal palaces) as he took pleasure in viewing their architecture, gardens, and art collections.[113] At Tewin, the hospitality offered by Sabine to the monarch was therefore less to do with personal links between the two men and instead

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[108] César de Saussure, *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I. & George II. The Letters of Monsieur César de Saussure to his Family*, ed. Madame van Muyden (London, 1902), p. 307.
[109] Nathaniel Salmon, *The History of Hertfordshire; Describing the County, And Its Antient Monuments, Particularly the Roman. With the Character of Those that have Been the Chief Possessors of the Lands. And an Account of the Most Memorable Occurrences* (London, 1728), p. 49.
[110] De Saussure, *A Foreign View of England*, p. 308.
[111] *Ibid.*, pp. 307-308.
[112] TNA, PROB 11/700/368, fol. 417.
[113] Ragnhild Hatton, *George I: Elector and King* (London, 1978), pp. 133-134.

focused on the expensive artwork and ornaments the soldier had collected and was using to highlight his sophistication and membership of the elite.

Royal hospitality took on a different and more personal form at Cliveden in Buckinghamshire, purchased by the Earl of Orkney in 1696.[114] George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney was a senior army officer who served with great distinction during the Nine Years' War and War of Spanish Succession, being one of the Duke of Marlborough's most able subordinates in the latter conflict. Unlike Sabine, Orkney did hold a place at court and served as one of George I's Gentlemen of the Bedchamber. By 1717 George I had become embroiled in political competition with his son the Prince of Wales (the future George II) and the Whigs had split into two opposing factions. Although naturally shy and averse to formal socialising, that summer George I tried to outdo the opposition court of his son and bolster the support of the Stanhope-Sunderland ministry by raising his own public profile through increased participation in society events and entertainments.[115] His courtier Orkney played an important role in this as one of the country houses the King visited that summer was Cliveden where he dined. Other venues included the Duke of Marlborough's lodge in Windsor Park and the Duke of Newcastle's seat of Claremont in Surrey.[116] Although George I's supercharged social calendar only lasted a couple of summers (he and the Prince of Wales officially reconciled in 1720), the hospitality Orkney offered was evidently to his satisfaction as a further visit took place in September 1724 when the King 'attended by divers of the Nobility and Gentry' dined at Cliveden again.[117] Lady Orkney, an experienced courtier whose knowledge of court life made her adept at organising various royal dinners and balls,[118]

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[114] Orkney is discussed further in chapter five.
[115] John M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 262-278; Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, pp. 199-200.
[116] Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, p. 266; *The Weekly Packet*, no. 270 (7 September 1717).
[117] *The Daily Courant*, no. 7145 (9 September 1724).
[118] Natalie Livingstone, *The Mistresses of Cliveden: Three Centuries of Scandal, Power and Intrigue* (London, 2015), p. 144.

fondly remembered five years later that she 'was told that things were in that order, that it was as if his majesty had lived here'.[119]

Although Orkney ceased to be a Gentleman of the Bedchamber on George I's death in June 1727, he continued to play a role in royal events[120] and host the royal family at Cliveden. One of the most detailed accounts of these royal visits is in a letter dated 5 August 1729 from Lady Orkney to George II's mistress Henrietta Howard concerning a recent dinner held at Cliveden for George II's wife Queen Caroline and her children. Whilst accounts of the visit in the newspapers described the royal family as being 'splendidly entertained', with Caroline spending some time in the gardens,[121] Lady Orkney's letter to Howard was strewn with concerns about the dinner. Orkney had apparently been 'vexed' by a number of problems including the servants not serving the Queen's food fast enough, and to help explain 'these mismanagements' Lady Orkney asked Howard to tell others that Cliveden was too small for the occasion.[122] Fortunately for the Orkneys, such fretting appears to have been uncalled for, and subsequent royal visits to Cliveden included Frederick, Prince of Wales in August 1736 who later became a tenant at Cliveden after Orkney's death.[123] Although, as Queen Caroline's tour of Cliveden's gardens suggests, Cliveden's architecture, gardens, and artwork would have been displayed to royal visitors, it was Orkney's personal links with the court which made it a popular venue. Overall, royal visits were evidently an important function of a number of country estates owned by senior military officers and within easy reach of the capital. Whilst George I's visit to Cliveden in 1717 and Prince Frederick's visit to Stowe in 1737 both had deeply political elements, this is less discernible in other cases. Nevertheless, any royal visit would still have marked a significant moment of

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[119] *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk*, i., p. 351.
[120] For example, newspapers routinely describe Orkney carrying the sword of state at royal chapel services, see for instance *The British Journal*, no. 275 (30 December 1727).
[121] *The Weekly Medley. By a Society of Gentlemen*, no. 44 (2 August 1729).
[122] *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk*, i., pp. 350-352.
[123] *The London Daily Post, And General Advertiser*, no. 561 (18 August 1736).

royal favour for the officer in question and given them hope of support in their careers either during their time in active service or in retirement.

The purpose of this chapter has not been to dispute the well-established view of Stowe as an important site of political opposition in the period between the 1733 Excise Crisis and Walpole's fall in 1742. However, beyond the 'Patriot' reading of Stowe, it must not be forgotten that Cobham had begun his improvements at the Temple family estate long before he went into opposition. It is by concentrating on the figure of Cobham himself, and his military background, that new ways of looking at Stowe are revealed. Although he continues to be a somewhat shadowy figure, the copious amount of documentary evidence (such as verse, descriptions, and correspondence) relating to Stowe by a variety of different authors help to highlight themes such as military influences in the landscape as well as the ways other individuals such as Cathcart and Westmorland interacted with the estate and the further avenues of enquiry that this enables. Furthermore, despite the uniqueness of the extent of Stowe's deliberate political iconography from the 1730s, Cobham's building efforts at Stowe can also be situated within the context of other military officers' estates such as Sabine at Tewin and Orkney at Cliveden by focusing on particular country house traditions such as (as has been done here) its place within the practice of the royal visit.



Figure 2.1 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Sir Richard Temple, 4th Baronet (later 1st Viscount Cobham)*, c. 1713.

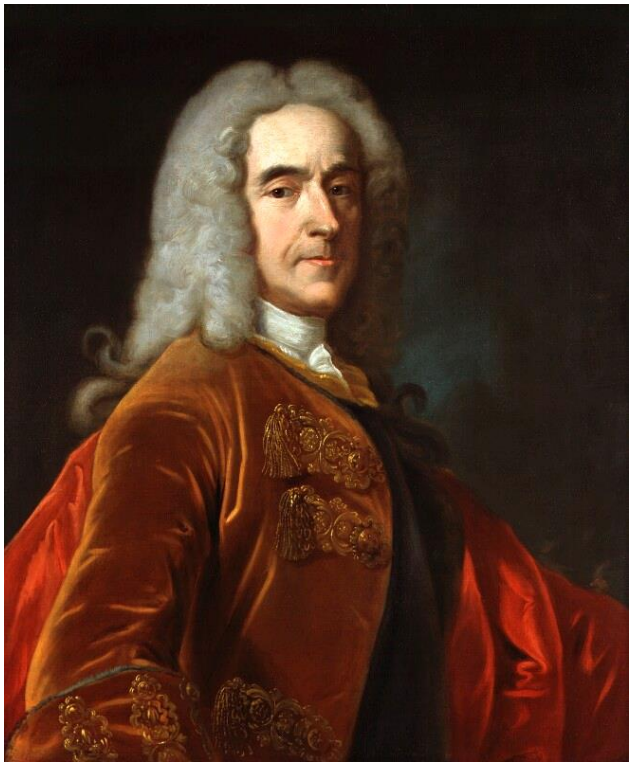

Figure 2.2 After Jean-Baptiste van Loo, *Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham*, c. 1740.

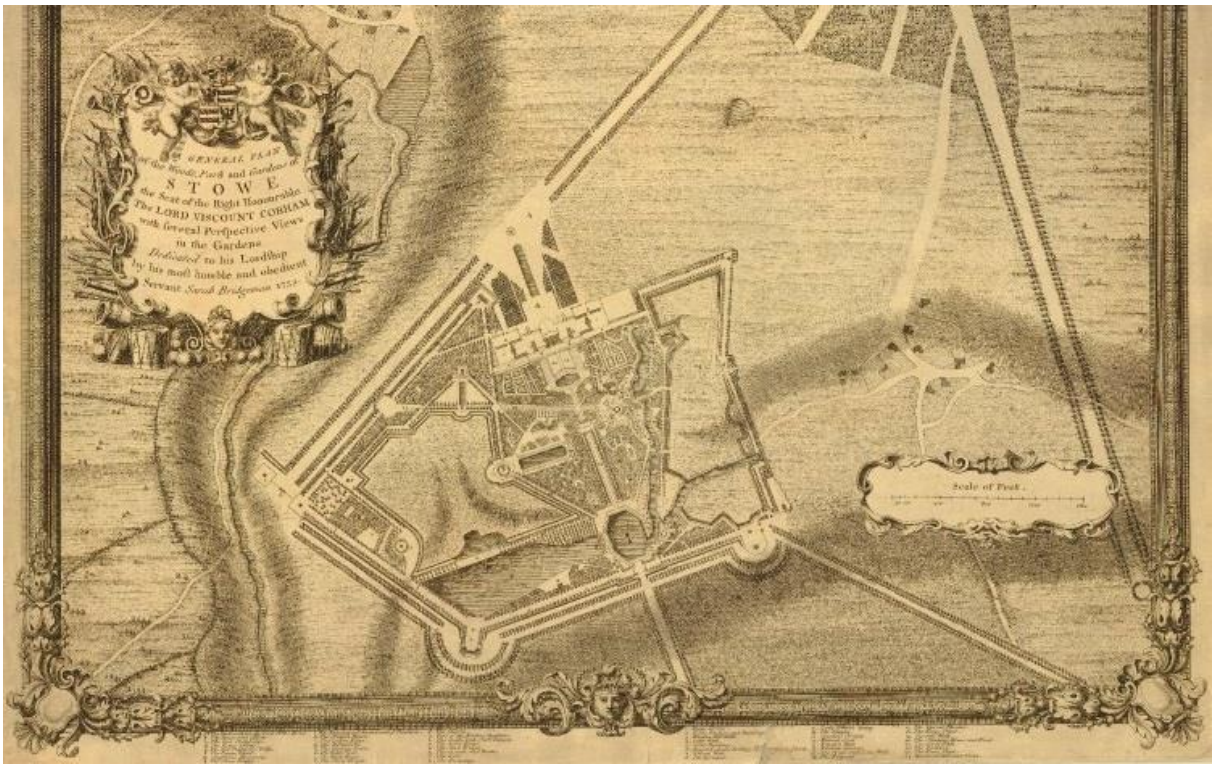

Figure 2.3 A detail from unknown draughtsman, *A General Plan of the Woods, Park and Gardens of Stowe the Seat of the Right Honourable The Lord Viscount Cobham… Dedicated to his Lordship by his most humble and obedient Servant Sarah Bridgeman*, 1739, pl. 1.

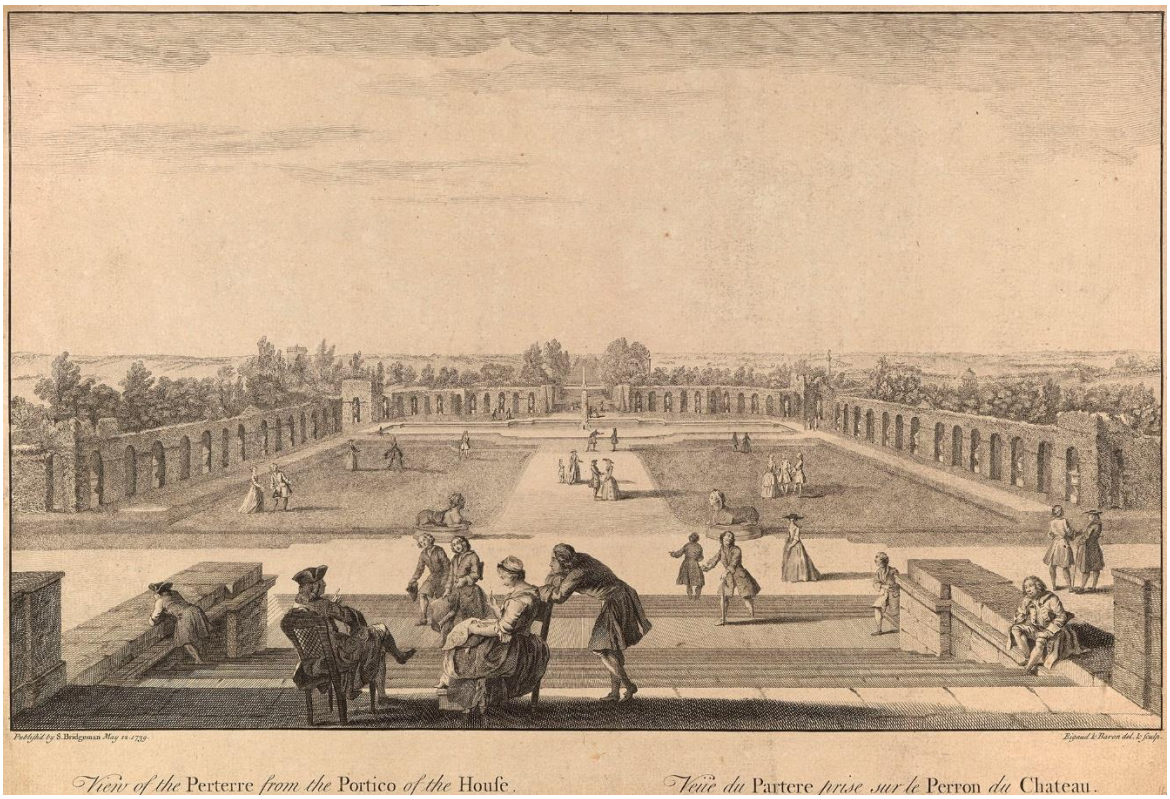

Figure 2.4 Jacques Rigaud, *View of the Perterre from the Portico of the House*, mid-1730s, pl. 16.

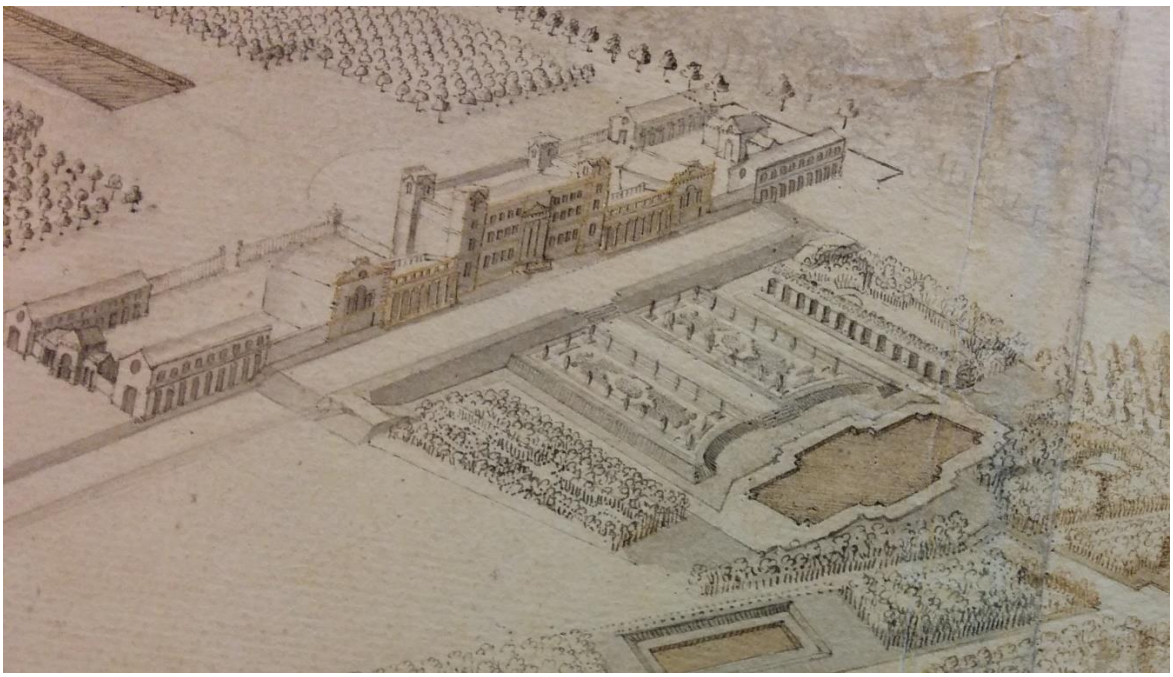

Figure 2.5 A detail from Charles Bridgeman (attrib.), *Bird's-eye view of Stowe*, c. 1720, Bodl., MS. Gough Drawings, a. 4, fol. 46.



Figure 2.6 Jacques Rigaud, *View of the House from the Equestrian Statue*, mid-1730s, pl. 6.



Figure 2.7 Jacques Rigaud, *View of the Queen's Theatre from the Rotunda*, mid-1730s, pl. 8.

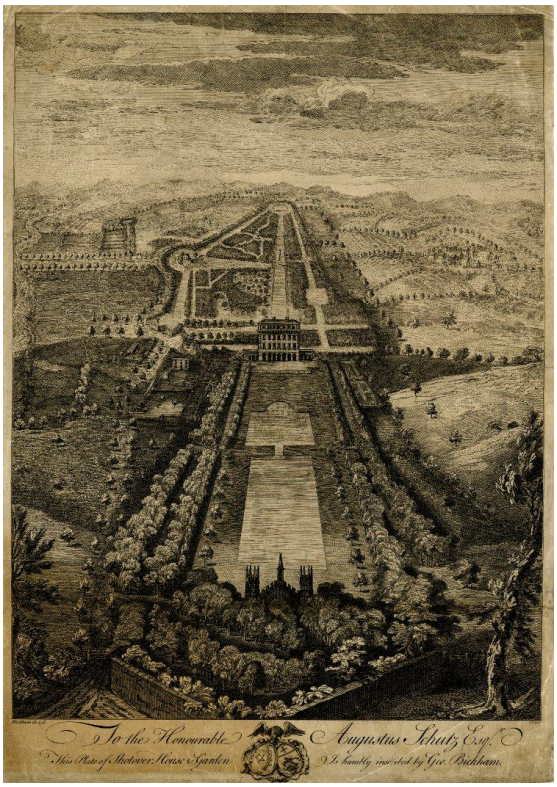

Figure 2.8 George Bickham the Younger, *To the Honourable Augustus Schutz Esqr This Plate of Shotover House & Garden Is humbly inscribed by Geo. Bickham*, 1750.



Figure 2.9 Jonathan Richardson the Elder (attrib.), *Charles Cathcart, 8th Lord Cathcart*, c. 1735.



Figure 2.10 Jacques Rigaud, *View at the Lesser Obelisk*, mid-1730s, pl. 13.



Figure 2.11 Thomas Ady, *John Fane, 7th Earl of Westmorland*, 1742.



Figure 2.12 John Faber Jr after Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Joseph Sabine*, 1742.

Chapter Three – The Network of Earl Stanhope:

Family, Friends, Colleagues, and the Chevening Estate

James Stanhope, 1st Earl Stanhope (1673-1721) (figs. 3.1 and 3.2) was a prominent soldier and politician in the early eighteenth-century whose sudden death from a stroke in his late forties cut short a career where he had effectively achieved pre-eminence in the political world of George I. The eldest son of the diplomat Alexander Stanhope (1638-1707, the youngest son of the 1st Earl of Chesterfield), James Stanhope served under both William III and Marlborough in Flanders. However, the most noteworthy part of his military career was between 1705 and 1710 when he served in the Spanish theatre during the War of Spanish Succession, initially under the 3rd Earl of Peterborough and the Earl of Galway, and then as commander-in-chief himself from March 1708 to December 1710. Whilst Stanhope scored a great victory at the battle of Almenar in July 1710,[1] his active military service ended abruptly at the close of the year when he was forced to surrender after the disastrous defeat at Brihuega. Remaining a prisoner of war in Spain until August 1712, Stanhope, a staunch Whig who was an MP for most of the period between 1702 and 1717, saw his political fortunes blossom after the Hanoverian Succession, serving both in the Treasury and as a Secretary of State. Working alongside his colleague the 3rd Earl of Sunderland, Stanhope's political importance reached its apogee between 1717 and 1721 in a government now usually referred to as the Stanhope-Sunderland ministry. Stanhope was created a viscount in July 1717 and elevated to an earldom in April 1718.

Stanhope purchased the estate of Chevening in Kent in June 1717, an early seventeenth-century seven-bay box said, according to Colen Campbell and George Vertue,

[1] For Almenar's importance in fashioning Stanhope's public image, see Stewart Tolley, 'In Praise of General Stanhope: Reputation, Public Opinion and the Battle of Almenar, 1710-1733', *British Journal for Military History*, vol. 3, issue 2 (February 2017), pp. 1-21.

to be by Inigo Jones.[2] Immediately a remodelling programme was started to update the estate, with side-projections built onto the house, two wings constructed linked to the house by curved corridors, interior alterations, and the creation of a new formal garden at the rear (fig. 3.3). After Stanhope's death in 1721, work was carried on under his wife Lucy, Countess Stanhope, but on her premature death in 1723 the furnishing of the house remained uncompleted until their son Philip, 2nd Earl Stanhope (1714-1786), reached maturity in the 1730s.[3] Stanhope was of great military and political importance, and the acquisition of Chevening coincided with the zenith of his career. However, due to his ministerial commitments and early death, he would find little time to spend there.[4]

Stanhope as a political figure is the focus of Basil Williams's 1932 *Stanhope: A Study in Eighteenth-Century War and Diplomacy*.[5] Aubrey Newman later wrote a family biography of the Stanhopes,[6] and recent studies of the Chevening estate include those by Michael I. Wilson and Julius Bryant.[7] This chapter sheds new light on Stanhope's purchase of a country seat and what purposes Chevening served for both himself and his wider family. By doing so it also brings into focus the network of people connected to Stanhope – for example, his political patron, his wife, his in-laws, his old army colleagues, and individuals interested in or practising architecture, and how they contributed to the process of finding, acquiring, and developing a country estate. The chapter is divided into five parts. The first section studies the period preceding the purchase of Chevening in 1717. Examining estates that Stanhope considered buying or leased on a temporary basis helps to explain his thinking during this

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[2] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, ii., p. 4; George Vertue, 'Vertue Note Books: Volume II', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, vol. 20 (1931-1932), p. 32.
[3] For accounts from 1736-1737 relating to the 2nd Earl's work at Chevening, see KHLC, U1590, A20A (Stanhope of Chevening manuscripts).
[4] This biographical information derives from A. A. Hanham, 'Stanhope, James, First Earl Stanhope (1673-1721)', *ODNB*; Stuart Handley, 'Stanhope, James (1673-1721), of London', *HoC 1690-1715*; Romney R. Sedgwick, 'Stanhope, James (1673-1721), of Chevening, Kent', *HoC 1715-1754*.
[5] Basil Williams, *Stanhope: A Study in Eighteenth-Century War and Diplomacy* (Oxford, 1932).
[6] Aubrey Newman, *The Stanhopes of Chevening: A Family Biography* (London, 1969).
[7] Michael I. Wilson, *A House of Distinction: The Stanhopes and Chevening* (Sevenoaks, 2011); Julius Bryant, *Chevening: A Seat of Diplomacy* (London, 2017).

period and highlights the importance of his relationship with his political patron, the Duke of Somerset. The second section explores Chevening as a dynastic statement, both for Stanhope as well as his father-in-law Governor Thomas Pitt whose financial resources enabled the purchase of the estate. By drawing a contrast to William Cadogan, 1st Earl Cadogan's country house at Caversham discussed in chapter one, this section emphasises the importance of Chevening as an economically-sustainable family estate bought with future generations in mind. The third section emphasises the role played by Stanhope's kinship and social networks at Chevening in overseeing the works and aiding in financial transactions, encompassing individuals such as Lady Stanhope, her brother Lord Londonderry, and Stanhope's old military colleague Colonel Otway. The fourth and fifth sections focus on questions of design. The fourth section examines Stanhope as a patron of architecture by considering his book collection, the evolution of the garden's design at Chevening, and his relationship with the architectural group known as the New Junta. Finally, the fifth section focuses on the ornamentation at Chevening and how Stanhope commemorated his career there.

I.

In February 1713 Stanhope married Lucy Pitt (1692-1723), daughter of Thomas Pitt (1653-1726), a wealthy former president and governor of Fort St George at Madras.[8] For Stanhope, securing a landed estate for himself and his new bride hence became a top priority.[9] Lieutenant-General George Carpenter (1657-1732, later 1st Baron Carpenter), who had campaigned alongside Stanhope in Spain, wrote to him on 5 September 1713 just before setting off to his own country house of Longwood in Hampshire about the sale of an estate

[8] Famous for his acquisition of the Regent Diamond whilst he was in India, sold to the Duke of Orléans for £125,000 in 1717, see Perry Gauci, 'Pitt, Thomas (1653-1726)', *ODNB*.
[9] Stanhope had probably harboured landed ambitions for a while. Back in 1706, a correspondent had informed him about an estate for sale (complete with an electoral interest) perhaps belonging to the former MP Sir Matthew Jenison, see Stuart Handley, 'Jenison, Sir Matthew (1654-1734), of Newark, Notts.', *HoC 1690-1715*.

belonging to one Mr Hodges for £7500. Carpenter was evidently acting as a sort of mediator between Hodges and Stanhope in the proposed sale as the former had written him '3 letters in your absence about Selling his Estate',[10] highlighting how old military connections could be repurposed for civil affairs such as buying an estate (a theme that will reoccur throughout this chapter). Another proposed purchase can be seen the following June in a letter from Stanhope's agent Alexander Stevenson: 'I belive I've found a house that will please you one of ye pretiest and best finished of its kynd in England its betwixt Staines and Egham call'd Thorpby House in a fine aire and not full 17 miles of [i.e. seventeen miles from London] belongs to my lady Altham, I have seen it and will goe againe in order to be able to give you a more particular acc^{tt} of every thing relating to it'.[11] Stevenson's description of Thorpby House hints at what Stanhope might have been looking for at this time: a suburban Middlesex house which was 'best finished' – in other words, not a project. This was quite different to the large but old country house that Stanhope purchased at Chevening in Kent in the summer of 1717 and suggests that before the Hanoverian Succession and the blossoming of his ministerial career, Stanhope may have been satisfied with a more modest country residence. The proposed estate purchases referred to by Carpenter and Stevenson came to nothing, but they go some way to illustrate Stanhope's thinking. It is thus also helpful to examine a house that Stanhope did occupy in the years before he purchased Chevening.

The newlywed Stanhopes spent much time at a house identified in letters to and from the couple as 'Sion Hill'. For example, Lucy Stanhope wrote to her absent husband from Sion Hill on 18 August 1713 adding in a postscript that 'ye man in mending ye glasses has broke ye chimney glass in ye best Summer house'.[12] This appears to have been the same

[10] KHLC, U1590/C9/19.
[11] KHLC, U1590/C9/20.
[12] KHLC, U1590/C9/3.

house referred to in other letters as 'Thistleworth' and the couple were evidently there for some years, Stanhope writing to the 2nd Earl of Stair from the house as late as September 1717.[13] The Syon estate in Isleworth (also known as Thistleworth), Middlesex was described in Macky's *Journey through England*: beyond Brentford 'lies *Sion*-House, one of the Seats of the Duke of *Somerset*, which is very Noble. It's a large square Stone Building, finely Finished and Furnished… The Gardens are tolerably well kept, and at the End of one its Avenues, lies a pretty Village by the River side, call'd *Istleworth*.'[14] From 1702, Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset (1662-1748) was Stanhope's most important patron in Parliament, and for most of his Commons career Stanhope represented the borough of Cockermouth where Somerset possessed considerable influence. The two men split in the autumn of 1715 after the government in which Stanhope served as Secretary of State ordered the arrest of Somerset's Tory son-in-law, Sir William Wyndham, 3rd Baronet, for Jacobite intrigue (they seem to have reconciled by February 1719).[15] The good relations between Somerset and Stanhope during Anne's reign are exemplified in a letter dated 15 April 1712 to Stanhope from his dependable military subordinate James Otway. Stanhope was at this point imprisoned in Spain and Otway reported from London that several lords had expressed concern for Stanhope's predicament. This included Somerset whom 'I have had ye Honour to dine wth… [and] who exsprest himselfe wth great Freindship, & Even tenderness for you'.[16] It therefore appears that the Stanhopes moved into a house on the Syon estate of Stanhope's political patron sometime around the summer of 1713.

The Stanhopes would not be Somerset's only high-status tenants, with the wealthy army paymaster James Brydges and family residing at Sion Hill from 1705 until 1714 before

[13] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., pp. 31-33.
[14] Macky, *A Journey Through England*, i., p. 40.
[15] Newman, *The Stanhopes of Chevening*, pp. 29, 44-45, 47, 55, 66, 77.
[16] KHLC, U1590/C9/35.

moving to their country house at Cannons.[17] A letter from Cassandra Brydges to the Duchess of Newcastle, who was interested in taking the Brydges' lease, on 15 October 1713 recorded that Lady Newcastle 'likes the air of Sion-Hill so well as to have thoughts of taking the house'. Perhaps it was this clean air, as well as Stanhope's political connections with Somerset, which was one of the biggest draws for Stanhope considering it was one of the benefits his agent Stevenson highlighted at Thorpby House in June 1714.[18] The Stanhopes were evidently responsible for maintenance of their accommodation at Sion Hill. An account book signed off by Lucy Stanhope's maid Sarah Knowler beginning July 1716 and ending May 1718 details various gardeners' wages and day-to-day garden tasks totalling £16. 4s. 2d. 'paid to ye Gardiner at Thistleworth since I last accounted with my Lady'.[19] Similarly, a book of expenses drawn up by Stanhope's German servant Andrew records payments to gardeners, a smith, and a glazier at Thistleworth in 1718.[20] It is at this point that references to Sion Hill and Thistleworth drop off, and various surviving accounts from 1718 record the transportation of the Stanhopes' possessions from their lodgings in Thistleworth to their new country house at Chevening.[21] It can be assumed that, with Chevening in their possession for around a year and Stanhope and Somerset's patronage relationship over, the Stanhopes ceased to be Somerset's tenants at Syon. Indeed, perhaps the tenancy was only ever intended as a temporary arrangement whilst they looked for a suitable country estate of their own.

[17] For the Brydges at Sion Hill, see C. H. Collins Baker and Muriel I. Baker, *The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos, Patron of the Liberal Arts* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 63-65.
[18] *Cassandra Brydges, Duchess of Chandos, 1670-1735: Life and Letters*, ed. Rosemary O'Day (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 73.
[19] KHLC, U1590/A89.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Ibid.*

II.

Appreciating the dynastic motivation behind Chevening is imperative in understanding Stanhope and the Pitts' relationship with the estate. In his 1932 biography, Basil Williams contextualises Chevening as a desire by Stanhope to find a place to be 'a refuge from the turmoil of London and the press of business… [and] in which to root a family and a lineage.'[22] Whilst Stanhope may very well have enjoyed 'the press of business', the latter dynastic angle is valuable and has certainly been of great use in other country house studies such as Charles Saumarez Smith's work on Castle Howard where 'The buildings were intended to produce in the mind of the spectator an awareness of the lineage of the Howard family and of its place in history.'[23] However, whilst the concept of creating an ancestral family seat in the country must have appealed to Stanhope, especially if he sought to assert himself and his junior cadet branch of the family (relative to his cousins, the Earls of Chesterfield), much of the impetus must have come from his father-in-law Governor Thomas Pitt.

From the perspective of Governor Pitt, Stanhope – a courageous military leader and high-profile figure in Parliament, would have been an attractive marital candidate for his daughter Lucy. Furthermore, Stanhope's rising political fortunes and subsequent access to important sources of patronage in the years following the Hanoverian Succession must have been something for the Pitts to celebrate,[24] although subsequently Governor Pitt opposed the Stanhope-Sunderland ministry on several key political issues such as the 1719 Peerage Bill.[25] For Stanhope, Lucy brought with her access to Governor Pitt's financial resources. Her dowry was £10,000 and their 1713 marriage contract instructed that this sum,

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[22] Williams, *Stanhope: A Study*, pp. 268-269.
[23] Saumarez Smith, *The Building of Castle Howard*, pp. 9-12.
[24] For a letter dated 16 September 1715 from Stanhope to his brother-in-law Robert Pitt about a sinecure for the latter in the Prince of Wales's household, see *The Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., Preserved at Dropmore*, ed. Historical Manuscripts Commission (10 vols., London, 1892-1927), i., pp. 51-52.
[25] Romney R. Sedgwick, 'Pitt, Thomas (1653-1726), of Stratford, Wilts. and Boconnoc, Cornw.', *HoC 1715-1754*.

supplemented by £10,000 of Stanhope's own money, was to be used to purchase land 'according to the direction and appointment of the said Thomas Pitt and James Stanhope'.[26] When initially seeking to marry off his daughters in 1706/7, Governor Pitt intended to give them dowries of only £6000 each, later clarifying that 'if my daughters and those that marry them deserve it, I shall be ready to make what addition my estate will permit.'[27] The fact that Lucy's portion was increased to £10,000 for her marriage to James Stanhope indicates the extent to which Governor Pitt valued the match. As the wording of the marriage contract implies, the governor wielded significant influence over how this money was to be used and he played an important role in the acquisition of Chevening. An account book titled 'The R^{t} Honble My Lord Stanhope his account Curr^{t} with the Honble Thomas Pitt Esqr March 1717' details various payments the governor made with regards to Chevening such as contributing £8000 to the £28,000 purchase price on 23 August 1717 (the remaining £5000 of Lucy's dowry was also paid on this date). This additional contribution presumably augmented the £20,000 set aside in the 1713 marriage contract for the purchase of land. Governor Pitt also paid for legal advice concerning the estate.[28] From Governor Pitt's point of view, the acquisition of an impressive but economically-sustainable country seat for his son-in-law, daughter, and grandchildren must have been important. To elaborate on what is meant here, it would be useful to draw a contrast to William Cadogan's Caversham discussed in chapter one, an estate which lacked the same sort of long-term dynastic planning as Chevening.

Cadogan apparently made attempts to acquire Caversham back in 1709, James Brydges writing in June: 'I believe I may give you joy by this time of your new purchase of Caussum [Caversham]. T'is a very sweet place, and I think not dear but the properest thing

[26] KHLC, U1590/T125. The contract refers to the proposed purchase of some manors in Northamptonshire, but this appears to have fallen through.
[27] *HMC Fortescue*, i., pp. 22, 31.
[28] KHLC, U1590/A94.

for you that could be found out in the whole kingdom.'[29] However, Brydges was mistaken or perhaps a proposed sale fell through. It was not until July 1714 that Cadogan successfully leased Caversham from Elizabeth, dowager Countess of Kildare, and in April 1718 he bought the estate outright. Cadogan's purchase of Caversham foreshadowed his elevation from Baron Cadogan to Earl Cadogan in May 1718, suggesting that he required the freehold to support the dignity of the rank (the same could be said of Stanhope who was created a viscount the month after purchasing Chevening). However, whatever Cadogan's peerage aspirations, much of the impetus behind his purchase of Caversham in 1718 came from the family of the late John Fitzgerald, 18th Earl of Kildare (c. 1661-1707) who urgently needed the money from selling the estate to pay off Kildare's various debts and legacies. Cadogan, who was renting Caversham for £200 per year on a 99-year lease, thus agreed to purchase the estate for £6200 and also advanced a £500 payment to Kildare's nephew John Robartes (later 4th Earl of Radnor).[30]

Unlike Stanhope, Cadogan did not need to purchase Caversham as a family seat, for he had no dynasty to pass it on to. By 1718, Cadogan and his Dutch wife Margaretta were both well into their forties. They had had two daughters, Sarah and Margaret, born in the previous decade but no sons. When the indebted Cadogan wrote his will on 27 June 1726 (he died the following month), special provision was made for allocating specific estates and sums of money to various family members – for example, his youngest daughter Margaret was granted £8000 out of an estate in Holland. However, much of Cadogan's estate, including Caversham, was dealt with more generally. Cadogan ordered his executors to 'sell and dispose' the remainder of his estate which was to be held in trust and by the revenue raised satisfy the financial obligations arising from the 1719 marriage of Cadogan's eldest daughter Sarah to Charles Lennox, Earl of March (2nd Duke of Richmond from 1723), as well

[29] Quoted in Davies, 'The Seamy Side of Marlborough's War', p. 31.
[30] BRO, D/EX258/12; BRO, D/EX258/14.

as pay any other debts and funeral charges.[31] Similarly, on 22 November 1726 the writer John Gay reported that Cadogan's possessions were to be auctioned.[32]

Whilst the Caversham estate did ultimately stay in the Cadogan family, that is only because Charles Cadogan purchased the estate from the trust, not because he was bequeathed it by his older brother.[33] Admittedly, Cadogan's will does contain dynastic considerations such as its specification that his son-in-law 'the said Duke of Richmond may have the preference in the purchase of any part of my said real and personal Estate devised to be sold as aforesaid'.[34] Certainly, Gay wrote that 'Lord Chesterfield designs to take Lord Cadogan's house in case the Duke of Richmond does not go into it himself, in which as yet he is undetermin'd', although he did not give further details.[35] Richmond was also left Cadogan's family pictures,[36] and at his Goodwood estate in Sussex Richmond incorporated Cadogan into the series of paintings of memorials to various notable people intended for the dining room. As described in 1747 by George Vertue, one of the pictures depicted an allegorical tomb for Cadogan featuring imagery such as 'Military men horses Trajans collumn' by the Italian painter Francesco Monti.[37] However, Richmond evidently did not take up this opportunity to purchase Caversham. By the 1770s, Cadogan's vast aristocratic mansion had been reduced in size, apparently due to a fire. One traveller described the

[31] TNA, PROB 11/611/311, fols. 298-299. Cadogan had promised a large dowry to accompany the marriage, although only a quarter of it was paid by the time of his death leading to litigation, see A. J. B. Sirks, 'The Supreme Court of Holland and Zeeland Judging Cases in the Early Eighteenth Century', in Paul Brand and Joshua Getzler (eds.), *Judges and Judging in the History of the Common Law and Civil Law: From Antiquity to Modern Times* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 245.
[32] *Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ii., p. 416. For a catalogue of the auction, which took place in February 1727 at Cadogan's house in Piccadilly, see *A Catalogue of the Rich Furniture of the Right Honourable Earl of Cadogan*.
[33] Malpas, *Caversham Park*, p. 57.
[34] TNA, PROB 11/611/311, fol. 299.
[35] *Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ii., p. 416.
[36] TNA, PROB 11/611/311, fol. 298.
[37] George Vertue, 'Vertue Note Books: Volume V', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, vol. 26 (1937-1938), pp. 149-150. For the *Tombs of Famous Englishmen* series, see Knox, '"The Tombs of Famous Englishmen"', pp. 228-235.

house in June 1776 as 'now white, formerly of brick and infinitely larger than at present', and the estate was sold the following decade to an East India Company officer.[38]

In short, when Cadogan purchased Caversham in April 1718 he must have known that he and his wife were unlikely to have more children and thus he would die without sons. Whilst Charles Cadogan would inherit his brother's title of Baron Cadogan of Oakley by special remainder, the earldom granted in May 1718 became extinct in the absence of such sons.[39] Although Cadogan secured the continuation of one of his subsidiary titles, there is no evidence that he attempted anything as ambitious as his patron Marlborough who, following the death of his only surviving son in 1703, used his great political capital and royal favour in the winter of 1706-1707 to obtain a special remainder allowing his titles, estate, and pension to be inherited by his daughters. Coupled with his attempts to ensure his German principality would be treated the same way, James Legard identifies Marlborough as pursuing a concerted strategy 'to forge his English dukedom, Continental principality, superb house, and lavish pension into an inextricably intertwined whole that would make the Marlborough dynasty into an eternal memorial of his achievements.'[40] Presumably Cadogan thought any attempt to secure a special remainder for his earldom would end in failure, or perhaps he was simply less motivated by these factors than Marlborough. Whilst Cadogan did attempt to give his son-in-law privileged purchasing rights to his estate, if he had cared that much about passing Caversham onto Richmond and his daughter Sarah, then surely he would have just bequeathed it directly. Alternatively, if that was simply not financially possible, then it can be argued that Cadogan was more concerned with enjoying his estate at Caversham in his lifetime, rather than ensuring it remained a dynastic memorial of his

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[38] Tyack, Bradley, and Pevsner, *Berkshire*, p. 482; Caroline Powys, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon. A.D. 1756 to 1808*, ed. Emily J. Climenson (London, New York, and Bombay, 1899), p. 162. According to Powys in 1776, the old entrance hall at Caversham had been converted into a library which suggests that the 1st Earl Cadogan's house was not entirely destroyed.

[39] The earldom was later revived for Charles Cadogan's son in 1800.

[40] Legard, 'Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace, and the Meanings of Baroque Architecture', i., pp. 202-203.

achievements to pass on to his successors. In this sense, rather than an emphasis on dynasty and long-term family planning, Cadogan's Caversham can be seen as more of a place to show off Cadogan's wealth (for example, in the form of his collection of statuary) and as a place of entertainment. As Alexander Pope wrote in 1716 to his friend Teresa Blount, a member of a Catholic gentry family at Mapledurham near Caversham: 'I have lately received much gladness, in the belief that you might do so from the late Entertainments of the Lord Cadogan in your neighborhood.'[41]

This situation was quite different to that of Stanhope and his Pitt in-laws. Upon his purchase of Chevening in June 1717, Stanhope and Lucy already had a couple of infant children (including Philip, the future 2nd Earl) and Lucy, still in her mid-twenties, would go on to give birth to more offspring in the future. With financial assistance from Governor Pitt, Stanhope bought the Chevening estate for £28,000. The difference in cost between Chevening and Caversham was less driven by factors such as the quality of the pre-existing houses – both were seventeenth-century and needed updating or remodelling. Instead, the Chevening estate was simply considerably larger than the Caversham estate – just over 3466 acres[42] to Caversham's 1092 acres.[43] The Chevening purchase included not just the manor of Chevening where the mansion house was located, but also the manors of Wilkes (alias Chepsted), Brasted, and various other messuages, lands, and hereditaments.[44] This was clearly an economic investment for future generations in a way that is a lot less apparent at Caversham where, by the time of Cadogan's death in 1726, the estate's annual income was only around £800.[45] Obviously, Stanhope would have wanted to provide a secure future for

[41] *Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, i., p. 351.
[42] KHLC, U1590/E26/6.
[43] *A Particular of the Mannor of Caversham*, pp. 1-2.
[44] KHLC, U1590/T27/1. The rest of U1590/T27 contains many other deeds relating to the Chevening purchase.
[45] *A Particular of the Mannor of Caversham*, pp. 1-2.

his infant and projected children, and Governor Pitt, providing much of the capital for this endeavour, would have felt the same about his grandchildren.

It was not just an economic base of farms, mills, orchards, and forests that Chevening provided, the estate also brought with it influence in the county's parliamentary politics. For example, Lady Stanhope received a letter from her brother Lord Londonderry on 13 January 1722 (just shy of a year after her husband's death) which discussed the Whig candidates for the upcoming general election:

> Great interest is makeing in Kent for Knights of the Shire, Coll^{o} Fane have spoke to me to use my interest with you on his behalf, as did Mr Polhill before, I told ye latter, that I made no question but you would give him y^{r} interest in ye manner that he should think most for his Service, and the former I told, that I beleived you would give him y^{r} interest provided twas not incompatable with Mr Polhils, pray lett me have y^{r} orders on this, that I may speak more positive.[46]

On this occasion, the Whig interest in the Kent county constituency doomed itself through infighting – the intention of David Polhill and Sir George Oxenden, 5th Baronet to stand was opposed by Colonel John Fane (later 7th Earl of Westmorland), one of the sitting Whig MPs, who wished to stand again himself. Ultimately all the Whig candidates withdrew, and two Tories were elected in April 1722.[47] However, what can be seen in this letter is tangible evidence of the Stanhope family's electoral influence in Kent (mediated by Lady Stanhope's brother) which ultimately derived from the estate that James Stanhope had purchased in the county. Chevening was thus more than just a place to display the family's wealth and entertain, but also a base from which to project a Stanhope-Pitt political interest.

At the same time, one must be careful not to see Caversham's purpose as apolitical even if it lacked the same sense of long-term economic and dynastic planning as Chevening. Indeed, from 1715 onwards Cadogan tried to exert electoral control over the notoriously independent borough of Reading albeit with rather limited success such as at the 1722

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[46] KHLC, U1590/C12/2.
[47] Aubrey Newman, 'Kent', *HoC 1715-1754*.

election. On that occasion, as the Tory Dr William Stratford gleefully noted, the electors of Reading 'shut their doors against Cadogan's brother and another who came with him, and declared that, though they starved, they would not be bribed this election' (Charles Cadogan was defeated and had to seek election elsewhere). The same year, as E. P. Thompson has shown in his study of the 1723 Black Act, the deer park at Caversham was twice raided by a poaching gang, further adding to Cadogan's woes in the borough.[48]

III.

Scholars who have written biographies of the Stanhopes have regularly highlighted Lucy, Countess Stanhope's capabilities and her agency at Chevening. Stanhope's delegation of duties to his wife is hardly surprising as he was exceedingly busy on political business during this period, not just in London but also on the Continent. This included diplomatic trips to France, Spain, and Prussia, and multiple extended visits to Hanover when he accompanied the King.[49] Lady Stanhope certainly exerted influence over the project's direction. For example, whilst one set of estimates for 'ye Circular Corridores, & the Offices for Kitchen and Stables' at Chevening totalling £4790. 2s. 10d. suggested that 'If the Covering be Tile or Slate instead of Lead… Deduct £890',[50] the presumably cheaper tiles initially chosen were met with harsh criticism from Lady Stanhope. Having recently returned from Chevening, she wrote to her husband on 2 June 1719 that 'Mr Fort [one of the architects] Mr Stevenson & I ware of opinion it would be much better to have ye offices Sllated ye tyles there being So bad & will be So much hansomer; & ye extreordinery charge will not be above (as Mr Fort Says) a hundred & twenty or fourty pounds at most; So desire y^{r} answar to it'.[51] Ultimately it was Stanhope who had the final say on such matters, hence his wife's desire for 'y^{r} answar', but

[48] *HMC Portland*, vii., p. 316; Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters*, pp. 100-102.
[49] Williams, *Stanhope: A Study*, p. 271; Newman, *The Stanhopes of Chevening*, pp. 92-93.
[50] KHLC, U1590/E26/1, fols. 3-5.
[51] KHLC, U1590/C9/3.

this correspondence provides an importance instance of Lady Stanhope taking the initiative in an aspect of Chevening's design.

Lady Stanhope's role at Chevening became even more crucial during her brief widowhood. Her female servants acted as important intermediaries in this. For example, Robert Matthew, apparently a joiner working at Chevening, wrote on 30 August 1721 to Mary Lukyn, whose responsibility within the Stanhope household seems to have chiefly been the children,[52] at that point living with Lady Stanhope at Governor Pitt's London house in Pall Mall. At Lady Stanhope's command, Matthew presented Lukyn with an account she desired of building materials such as Norwegian timber and their intended use in wainscoting, doors, floors, and staircases.[53] Similarly, a statement detailing sums of money spent on the works at Chevening since October 1719 written in 1721 by Lady Stanhope's maid Sarah Knowler noted that Lady Stanhope thought £12980. 16s. 5d. had been spent on the works at Chevening by that point, indicated her eagerness to be on top of the project's finances.[54] Overall, it is apparent in these documents that Lucy played an active role in the works at Chevening and, in particular, the continuation of the work started by her husband after his sudden death in 1721. Lady Stanhope was of course not unique in this respect, this was the sort of role taken up by other soldiers' wives already discussed in this thesis such as the Duchess of Marlborough.

As important as Lady Stanhope may have been, it is also necessary to highlight the role of her brother Thomas Pitt (c. 1688-1729), created Baron of Londonderry in 1719 and Earl of Londonderry in 1726. Whilst best known as a financial speculator, Londonderry was also an army officer. Furthermore, he had a long-standing military connection to his brother-in-law as he had served in Stanhope's army in Spain during the War of Spanish Succession,

[52] For accounts of the children and nurses in June-July 1718 which are signed off by Lukyn, see KHLC, U1590/A93.
[53] KHLC, U1590/E26/2.
[54] KHLC, U1590/E26/5.

holding the rank of captain in Major-General John Pepper's regiment of dragoons by the time of the surrender at Brihuega in December 1710. After the Hanoverian Succession, the well-connected younger Thomas Pitt became a colonel, received his Irish peerage, and was eventually appointed Governor of the Leeward Islands where he died prematurely in 1729.[55] Economic historian Larry Neal, who has written on Londonderry's financial activities, suggests that the younger Thomas Pitt was trusted by Stanhope even before the latter's marriage to Lucy Pitt, being tasked with the delivery of sensitive military correspondence during Stanhope's imprisonment.[56] Certainly, by the height of the South Sea economic bubble in mid-1720, Neal observes that 'Londonderry had assumed responsibility for handling the financial speculations of his brother-in-law. With the best of intentions he was trying to achieve for Stanhope some of the gains that knowledgeable stockjobbers such as himself were able to make at the expense of the new crowd of eager but ignorant investors.'[57]

Londonderry's involvement in the Stanhopes' business only intensified after the death of his brother-in-law. Multiple letters from Londonderry to his sister Lady Stanhope in 1721 and 1722 show him to be heavily involved in the selling of Stanhope's apartments in the Cockpit, Whitehall, and supplying the dowager countess with money through an old military contact of Stanhope's, Major-General George Wade. As one letter from 8 March 1722 notes: 'yesterday I gave General Wade, who setts out this morning for Bath [Lady Stanhope's current location], two-hundred and fifty pounds for you in small bank bills and gold'.[58] Indeed, during Lady Stanhope's widowhood (and after her death, Londonderry being

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[55] G. F. R. Barker, 'Pitt, Thomas, First Earl of Londonderry (c. 1688-1729)', rev. D. M. Casey, *ODNB*; Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vi., pp. 40, 76, 196; *HMC Portland*, x., p. 80; Dalton, *George the First's Army*, i., pp. 325-326.
[56] Larry Neal, *'I Am Not Master of Events': The Speculation of John Law and Lord Londonderry in the Mississippi and South Sea Bubbles* (New Haven and London, 2012), p. 32.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 128. Correspondence from Londonderry to Stanhope concerning South Sea stock survives in the archives, see for example the letter dated 12 October 1720 in KHLC, U1590/C9/16.
[58] KHLC, U1590/C12/2; Neal, *'I Am Not Master of Events'*, pp. 132-133.

one of the executors), Londonderry played a vital role in the management of the Stanhopes' finances, and this included those relating to the ongoing works at Chevening and general estate matters. For example, a set of accounts titled 'Lord Londonderry to Lady Stanhope' beginning 20 February 1721 includes entries relating to estate rents at Chevening and payments to the builders and workmen.[59] In sum, Londonderry features prominently in the papers relating to the works at Chevening and the Stanhopes' finances more generally. However, although Londonderry did have important military links with Stanhope, his role as Lady Stanhope's brother (and Governor Pitt's son) would surely have been a more influential connection. Nevertheless, it is apparent from the accounts already highlighted that military figures with no kinship ties such as Wade also played a role in the Stanhopes' financial machine.

Alongside family bonds and other social links, military networks were of great importance in the carrying out of senior officers' personal affairs such as the construction of their country houses. In the case of Stanhope, this can be most obviously seen in his and his family's relationship with Colonel James Otway (d. 1725). An ensign in 1692, Otway rose through the ranks of the army and became colonel of a regiment of foot in 1718. Like Londonderry, he had also fought with Stanhope in Spain.[60] Otway's involvement in the Stanhopes' lives and business at Chevening was great enough to be remembered decades later. Grizel Stanhope (wife of the 2nd Earl Stanhope) wrote in 1797 of 'Col. James Otway, who was called in the family Jo. He was in the Army in Spain with James, afterward Earl Stanhope & much [?] attatched to it from obligations he owed Mr Stanhope. & was employed in directing the works carrying on at Chevning.'[61] This sentiment was expressed by Otway himself who, leaving for the Continent in autumn 1720, wrote 'that my greatest

[59] KHLC, U1590/E12/1, fols. 46-55.
[60] Dalton, *English Army Lists*, iii., p. 253, iv., p. 46, v., pp. 28, 97, vi., pp. 28, 196, 386; Dalton, *George the First's Army*, i., p. 326, ii., pp. 121, 166, 286-287, 350.
[61] KHLC, U1590/C12/1.

concern in Leaving England so suddenly, was to part from Chevening'.[62] Certainly, Otway was a loyal supporter of Stanhope personally. He wrote to Stanhope on 15 April 1712 during the latter's captivity in Spain that his army comrades such as Lieutenant-General Carpenter, Major-General Wade, Colonel Dormer, 'and all y^{t} have had the Honour & pleasure of serveing under you have had so much Vertue as to do Justice in their Acknowledgem^{ts} of w^{t} they and theyr Country Ow to so disinterested a Generall. I do assure you S^{r} y^{t} you are heartyly wishd for & truly Esteem'd by ye best and Worthyest men of yor Country'.[63] The sense of camaraderie conjured by Otway in this letter was presumably an attempt to bolster the imprisoned Stanhope's morale.

Some of Otway's work at Chevening purely involved aiding with transactions. For example, in one set of accounts delivered to Stanhope's cousin Charles Stanhope in April 1719, Colonel Otway is mentioned as having received £100 for the workmen currently at Chevening.[64] Similarly, accounts from after Stanhope's death in 1721 when Lucy carried on the works at Chevening include several entries noting Otway's involvement.[65] Otway clearly had to work closely with the other supervisory (and non-military) figures at Chevening such as Stanhope's agent Alexander Stevenson, writing in 1720 that 'I got Mr Stevenson to goe down wth me [to Chevening] I gave him upp all my Acc^{ts} of ye Money wch I had Recied & took His discharges for it he has a Coppy of all things y^{t} I have paid of ye Vouchers for all of em & my Book I have Left wth my wife, wch she will give to Mr Stevenson if he has any Ocasion for it'.[66]

Otway also directed people at Chevening. A detailed account of his supervisory role is given in a letter sent from him to Lady Stanhope in October 1720:

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[62] *Ibid*.
[63] KHLC, U1590/C9/35.
[64] KHLC, U1590/A94.
[65] For example, for a mention of Otway being paid 'on Acc^{t} of Chevening', see KHLC, U1590/E12/1, fol. 51.
[66] KHLC, U1590/C12/1.

> I Left positive directions at Chevening that no New work should be begunne, unless by my Lords or yor Lady^{shps} direct Order, I find the Bricklayers were Such & able [?] to have worke for all this Winter, but I begg they may do nothing without doors after this Month, if they do it will be good for nothing unless it is Work underground of wch I think there has already bin too much, The Brewhouse will I hope be Ready the Middle of this Month as the Man promised me it should[67]

A letter dated 13 June 1721 from another individual employed by the Stanhopes also alludes to Otway's supervisory role with its reference to a disputed bill which had been examined 'by one Jackson a Brewer who was appointed to do it by Coll^{o} Otway & Captn Eaton'.[68] Although not an architect or building surveyor, Otway was evidently trusted to keep the workmen in line. It may be that it was Otway's experience of military discipline which was prized by the Stanhopes, with him being well qualified to obey the commands of his superiors (the Earl and Countess) and, in turn, give orders to the workmen under his command at Chevening. Certainly, Otway's role at Chevening makes him sound much like the estate stewards of later Stuart England described by D. R. Hainsworth who had to fulfil a variety of roles for their masters including that of acting as supervisory clerks of works at their employers' building projects.[69]

Otway was also charged with the purchase of furnishings. Leaving for the Continent in the autumn of 1720, Otway wrote to Lady Stanhope from Brussels on 6 October: 'I have my Lord Londonderrys Orders to bye severall parcells of Damask for Furniture in Italy if yor Lady^{shp} has any comands of that kind for me I beg you Will Let my Lord Londonderry write to me for any thing you would please to have & I shall do ye best I can to get it safe Home to yor Ladyshipp'.[70] Not only does this demonstrate both Otway and Lord Londonderry's importance in the acquisition of foreign goods for what was probably Chevening (other Chevening matters are discussed elsewhere in the letter), it also suggests a sort of hierarchy.

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[67] *Ibid*.
[68] KHLC, U1590/E26/4. Perhaps 'Captn Eaton' was the Edward Eaton appointed lieutenant in the second regiment of foot guards in November 1713 or the Charles Eaton appointed lieutenant in Sabine's regiment of foot in August 1717, see Dalton, *George the First's Army*, i., pp. 128, 212.
[69] Hainsworth, *Stewards, Lords and People*, pp. 236-250.
[70] KHLC, U1590/C12/1.

Lord Londonderry was in a position to give orders to Otway, meaning perhaps that Londonderry, as not just an army colleague but a family member and also an Irish peer, was more senior than Otway in the Stanhopes' delegation of power at Chevening – a dynamic compounded by the fact that Otway had served as lieutenant-colonel in Londonderry's cavalry regiment between 1715 and 1718.[71] Certainly, Otway's aptitude came to the attention of Londonderry's father, Governor Pitt, who wrote to his son Robert Pitt in August 1718 that he had recently been to his estate of Swallowfield in Berkshire and that 'Colonel Otway and Mr. James [the architect John James] were with me. We ordered many alterations which will, I fear, put me to vast expense.'[72]

It should also be noted that Otway's involvement in the Stanhopes' affairs went beyond just building work. For example, in 1720 Otway acted as an intermediary in the purchase of livery for the Stanhopes and their servants.[73] It appears Otway's wife was also involved in this sphere of Stanhope activity.[74] Whether Otway received any direct financial recompense for his services is unclear, but his principal reward for slaving away for the Stanhopes would undoubtedly have been their patronage and protection. Certainly, Otway's connections to the influential minister could not have harmed his appointment in June 1720 as Lieutenant-Governor of Fort St Philip, Minorca.[75] As he wrote to Lucy Stanhope on 6 October 1720, 'wherever I am I shall never Forget How much I & all mine are Bound to my Lord & yor Ladyship'.[76] Lieutenant-General Carpenter also played a role at Chevening (though not one as significant as either Londonderry or Otway), acting as a trustee when

[71] Dalton, *George the First's Army*, i., p. 326.
[72] *HMC Fortescue*, i., p. 63. For John James, see Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 564-568.
[73] KHLC, U1590/A95.
[74] KHLC, U1590/C12/1.
[75] Dalton, *George the First's Army, 1714-1727*, ii., p. 350.
[76] KHLC, U1590/C12/1. Otway may have named one of his sons Stanhope Otway in commemoration of his patron, see Richard H. Saunders, *John Smibert: Colonial America's First Portrait Painter* (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 232. Saunders catalogues a series of portraits by Smibert of Otway and his family, although he believes (perhaps mistakenly) that these refer to a different Otway who died in 1764, see *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 47, 142, 232-233, fig. 31, pl. 6.

Chevening was purchased alongside James Stanhope's cousin Charles Stanhope and Governor Pitt's cousin George Pitt.[77] Stanhope was particularly fond of his cousin Charles who also assisted with his financial affairs. For example, Charles Stanhope paid workmen at Stanhope's apartments in Whitehall in 1717-1718,[78] sent £917. 5s. to Stanhope's agent Alexander Stevenson (by then deeply involved in the works at Chevening) in the spring of 1719,[79] and was involved general-day-to-day expenditure.[80] Charles also helped the Stanhope and Pitt families with their investments in the South Sea Company.[81]

Of course, Stanhope was not unique in his use of old military colleagues like Otway in his construction work. For example, Cadogan employed his aides-de-camp Adam Williamson and John Huske in a legal capacity, assigning the two of them trustees for him to transfer the Caversham lease to on 12 April 1718.[82] Particular military expertise could also be sought. For example, Colonel John Armstrong (1674-1742), Marlborough's trusted military engineer during the War of Spanish Succession, was employed at Blenheim in the early 1720s to assist with the design of a new canal system.[83] It is difficult to know whether the frail Duke (who died before the project was finished) would have had much involvement in this or whether it was largely the Duchess's initiative. Nevertheless, Marlborough and Armstrong must have been relatively close. At some point a double portrait was commissioned of both men of which the Duchess remarked to her granddaughter in 1734: 'I really think that picture of your Grandfather with Mr. Armstrong in my bed-chamber in

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[77] KHLC, U1590/T27/1. All three men were also involved in the documentation relating to the Stanhopes' 1713 marriage settlement, see KHLC, U1590/T125.
[78] KHLC, U1590/E26/3. Whilst catalogued with Chevening papers, Richard Hewlings convincingly argues that these accounts refer to Stanhope's Whitehall apartments, see Richard Hewlings, 'Lord Stanhope's Apartment at No. 70 Whitehall', *The Georgian Group Journal*, vol. 22 (2014), pp. 27-28.
[79] KHLC, U1590/A94.
[80] For Charles Stanhope's name in a book of household expenditure from 1718, see KHLC, U1590/A90/1.
[81] Neal, *'I Am Not Master of Events'*, pp. 128-131.
[82] BRO, D/EX258/13.
[83] For the canal project contract dated 24 April 1722, see BL, Add MS 61355, fols. 12-15. The works were to cost about £4300 and an endorsement by Armstrong dated 3 September 1724 certified that it had been completed.

London was as like him as I ever saw' (fig. 3.4).[84] It can therefore be surmised that not only was Armstrong's expertise sought after, but there was also a more personal element. Similarly, at Stowe Lord Cobham employed his old comrades on estate business such as Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Speed who was tasked with looking over the estate accounts.[85]

IV.

An examination of the design of both the house and gardens at Chevening suggests that Stanhope is difficult to pigeonhole into one particular architectural group or style. Stanhope was well-known for his intellect, John Macky describing him around 1705 as 'very learned, with a great deal of Wit',[86] and unsurprisingly he was also a bibliophile. In a personal account book kept by his German servant Andrew between 1717 and 1719 there are frequent references to the acquisition of or subscription to various books by Stanhope such as Alexander Pope's translation of Homer and the Elizabethan William Camden's topographical *Britannia*.[87] Writing in the 1930s, Basil Williams marvelled at the extent and range of Stanhope's library still preserved at Chevening and emphasised his erudition.[88] Indeed, towards the end of William III's reign Stanhope had produced an English translation of the ancient Greek orator Demosthenes's *Third Philippic*.[89] Importantly for this thesis, the surviving book lists of Stanhope's collection show that he possessed a great number of architectural and gardening texts.

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[84] Sarah Churchill Duchess of Marlborough, *Letters of a Grandmother 1732-1735: Being the Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough with her Granddaughter Diana, Duchess of Bedford*, ed. Gladys Scott Thomson (London, 1943), p. 136.
[85] Jane Brown, *Lancelot 'Capability' Brown: The Omnipotent Magician, 1716-1783* (London, 2012), p. 42.
[86] John Macky, *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq; During the Reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and King George I*, 2nd edn. (London, 1733), p. 151.
[87] KHLC, U1590/A92/1. For a loose sheet in Stanhope's book catalogues detailing Alexander Pope's proposal to produce a six-volume translation of Homer's *Iliad*, see KHLC, U1590/C11. The signatories to this subscription list include Stanhope, his colleague Lord Sunderland, and Governor Pitt.
[88] Williams, *Stanhope: A Study*, pp. 271-272; Newman, *The Stanhopes of Chevening*, pp. 94-95; Wilson, *A House of Distinction*, pp. 27-28. Stanhope's library seems to have contained c. 1400-1600 volumes although in his lifetime most of these would have been kept in London.
[89] Hanham, 'Stanhope, James, First Earl Stanhope (1673-1721)', *ODNB*.

In line with many of his peers, Stanhope was a subscriber to Colen Campbell's catalogue of British architecture *Vitruvius Britannicus* (his name appearing in the subscription list for the second, ordering one set, and third, ordering two sets, volumes of 1717 and 1725 respectively, though he died before the third volume was published).[90] Other architectural books in Stanhope's library included a 1551 edition of Sebastian Serlio's *Extraordinario libro di Architettura* and Giacomo Leoni's edition of Andrea Palladio's *Quattro libri dell'architettura* (albeit one that 'wants some of ye Plates') which was published in instalments from 1715. Stanhope also owned Jean-François Félibien's seventeenth-century *Recueil historique de la vie et des ouvrages des plus célèbres architects* which served as biographical dictionary for a number of classical and medieval architects, Guillaume Philander's sixteenth-century annotations on Vitruvius, and Henry Wotton's rather loose 1624 translation of Vitruvius. Military architecture was represented by Nicolaus Goldmann's seventeenth-century work on military engineering *Elementorum architecturae militaris*. The collection also included Antoine Desgodetz's *Les Edifices antiques de Rome*, and various prints and draughts of Palladio, Chevening house and gardens, and fortification. Gardening texts included William Lawson's early seventeenth-century *A New Orchard and Garden*, *The Compleat Gard'ner* by Jean de la Quinteney (who created the fruit and vegetable garden known as the *potager du roi* at Versailles), and works by the Reverend John Laurence, Richard Bradley, and Samuel Collins (all of whom wrote on fruit trees and other practical matters). Stanhope also possessed John Evelyn's influential book on forestry *Sylva*, a 1654 edition of Peter Lauremberg's *Horticultura*, John Mortimer's 1707 *The whole Art of Husbandry, in the way of Managing and Improving of Land*, and Stephen Switzer's 1718 *Ichnographia Rustica: Or, The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's Recreation*.[91]

[90] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, ii., iii., list of subscribers.
[91] KHLC, U1590/C11.

Overall, Stanhope's architectural texts demonstrate a sophisticated interest in both classical and renaissance architecture and architectural theory (with a continuing interest in military architecture), whilst his gardening texts place a heavy emphasis on the practical side of growing trees, food, and managing land. Admittedly, considering Stanhope's hectic political career, it is difficult to say how many of these books he actually read. Nevertheless, this interest in the practical side of gardening was shared by several of Stanhope's military contemporaries. For example, following the termination of his ambassadorial posting in Paris in 1720, the 2nd Earl of Stair returned to his estates in Scotland and became very interested in agricultural improvement and the use of new machinery.[92] A local Kentish parallel is provided by Colonel John Fane of Mereworth Castle (a Palladian house built in the 1720s) who was a keen horticultural improver. In the Fane papers in the Kent archives is a detailed plan of a stove wall dated c. 1730 in the catalogue. Stove walls were ingenious contraptions where a wall would be built with chimney flues running through. Fires could be lit to send smoke billowing through the tunnels which would keep the wall warm and permit the growth of vines and fruit all year around. This particular design gave detailed instruction to Fane and his gardeners on how to use the device, noting for example that they should 'Light ye Fires the latterend of January. begin moderate until you find ye Sap begin to be in motion which will be known by ye sweling the Buds. keep ye heat reagular Night and Day & in proportion to ye heat of our Sumers as near as possible.'[93]

Back in 1716, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had written approvingly of the stove walls used at Herrenhausen in the Electorate of Hanover to grow exotic fruits in artificially warm conditions. She judged that 'the vast Number of Orange Trees' were 'much larger than any I have ever seen in England, thô the climate is certainly colder', and remarked that they

[92] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., p. 161. Stair is discussed further in chapter five.
[93] KHLC, U282/E15 (Manorial records, deeds and family papers of the Fane and Stapleton estates at Hunton, Mereworth and elsewhere in Kent).

were also used in Vienna and Dresden. Wortley Montagu was 'surpriz'd we do not practise in England so usefull an Invention',[94] so it would seem Colonel Fane was later attempting to rectify this by adopting an innovative technique long since used in Europe to grow fruit at his own estates. Fane, who succeeded to the Westmorland earldom in 1736, certainly had an interest in the cultivation of unusual plants. His wife Mary wrote to the Countess of Denbigh on 14 February 1750 that 'My lord bids me assure you of his sincerest regards, and will send you some sumac trees [a non-indigenous flowering plant] as soon as he goes to Mereworth, as he proposes to do next week', and Westmorland himself asked Lady Denbigh on 21 December 1752 whether she would purchase 'some seeds of curious flowers' for him whilst she was in France.[95]

Stanhope's interests in fortification design and practical kitchen gardening complemented each other well and, had he lived longer, he would have surely purchased Switzer's later gardening texts. For example, Switzer's 1727 *The Practical Kitchen Gardiner* contains a plan for an octagonal kitchen-garden laid out like a fort with military terminology such as 'D are bastions, after the latest [diamond-shaped] manner' and 'F are terrasses round by the fossee or grass.'[96] Military elements also appear in the plan of Spye Park in Wiltshire (where Switzer worked although it is not clear to what extent this design was carried out) in Switzer's 1724 *The Practical Fruit-Gardener*. Whilst Switzer mainly focused on the practical matter of efficiently watering the garden, up on the terrace by the house are clearly delineated diamond-shaped bastions which Switzer referred to in his description.[97]

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[94] *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, i., p. 290.
[95] *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Denbigh, Preserved at Newnham Paddox, Warwickshire. (Part V.)*, ed. Historical Manuscripts Commission (London, 1911), pp. 267, 282.
[96] Stephen Switzer, *The Practical Kitchen Gardiner: Or, A New and Entire System of Directions for his Employment in the Melonry, Kitchen-Garden, and Potagery, in the Several Seasons of the Year* (London, 1727), pp. 367-68. 'The Plan of an Octangular Kitchen Garden' is inserted between pp. 368 and 369.
[97] Stephen Switzer, *The Practical Fruit-Gardener. Being the Best and Newest Method of Raising, Planting, and Pruning all Sorts of Fruit-Trees, Agreeably to the Experience and Practice of the most*

The house and garden that Stanhope was anxious to remodel and upgrade upon his acquisition of Chevening are depicted in John Harris's 1719 *The History of Kent*. Indeed, the presence of this engraving of Chevening by Johannes Kip (based on a drawing by Thomas Badeslade) was no doubt what encouraged Stanhope to subscribe to Harris's work.[98] Accompanied by a flattering description, the Badeslade drawing features the Inigo Jones house with Stanhope's extensions, elaborate ironwork gates in the forecourt, and the formal garden at the back. To the side of the house are kitchen-gardens where Stanhope would have been able to implement the techniques outlined in all the practical gardening tomes in his library.[99] However, the date that Harris's book was published, 1719, is important to note as Badeslade's drawing of a perfectly formed house and garden must therefore have been created less than two years after Stanhope purchased the property. In reality, Stanhope's Chevening would have still been a work-in-progress at this date, especially considering that the three acres at the end of the canal to the rear of the house were only purchased in 1718.[100] Presumably, Badeslade had access to plans or used his imagination to complete his drawing.[101] This is particularly obvious in the garden. Badeslade's drawing depicts an early-eighteenth century formal garden where a grass platform immediately behind the house leads to a long canal with a bulb, at the end of which is a temple that faces the garden front of the house. The canal is flanked on both sides by intricate labyrinthine hedgework and geometric avenues and openings. On the west side is a high wall separating the garden from the park punctuated by small gaps where tree avenues provide vistas.

Eminent Gardeners and Nursery-Men (London, 1724), p. 314. 'The PLAN of a Kitchen or Fruit Garden that lies on a Flat for Watering', is inserted between pp. 306 and 307.

[98] For a receipt by Harris dated 23 April 1719 recording Stanhope's subscription to his book, see KHLC, U1590/C11.

[99] John Harris, *The History of Kent* (London, 1719), p. 74. The engraving of Chevening is inserted on the following page.

[100] Elizabeth Banks, 'Restoring an Ageing Landscape: Changes in the Gardens at Chevening, Kent', *Country Life*, vol. 166, no. 4289 (20 September 1979), p. 851.

[101] Wilson, *A House of Distinction*, p. 2.

Later images of Stanhope's formal garden include a c. 1720 estate survey (fig. 3.5) and a 1747 survey of 'Chevening Garden' (fig. 3.6).[102] These plans depict Chevening's formal garden as broadly similar to Badeslade's 1719 drawing. Some differences do appear - for example, the temple at the end of the canal in the Badeslade drawing is not depicted in either plan and thus was presumably never built. One pattern that emerges is that the western side of the garden is where the Badeslade's drawing and these later surveys diverge the most, suggesting that this area was largely incomplete in 1719. This contrasts with the eastern side of the garden where detailed planting elements are generally very similar in both Badeslade's drawing and the later surveys. On the western side of the garden, rather than the high wall of the Badeslade drawing, the surveys depict the presence of earthworks (complete with a round bastion near the house) as well as some sort of ditch – perhaps an early form of ha-ha. Meanwhile, in the south-west corner, even the boundary between the garden and park goes off at a different angle than is seen in the Badeslade drawing.

In sum, the actual way Stanhope treated this area, seen in the later surveys rather than the partly-imagined 1719 Badeslade drawing, is much more akin to the sort of advice given in Switzer's *Ichnographia Rustica* that 'a kind of Extensive Gard'ning' should be practised, the line between garden and parkland softened, and views opened up between the garden and the surrounding countryside rather than being hidden away by high walls.[103] Seeing Stanhope as a forward-thinking gardener with sympathies with the garden philosophies of Stephen Switzer and Joseph Addison (who argued that the 'whole Estate be thrown into a kind of Garden')[104] not only makes sense considering his evident literary interest in the subject, but also when combined with his architectural choices which appear to demonstrate a break with the older faction of architects such as Sir John Vanbrugh.

[102] Bryant, *Chevening*, fig. 83; KHLC, U1590/P1.
[103] Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica*, i., pp. xi, xviii-xix, xxxv-xxxviii.
[104] *The Spectator*, no. 414 (25 June 1712).

Indeed, Vanbrugh and Stanhope's old links (they were both members of the Whig Kit-Cat Club) seem to have meant little when it came to architectural patronage at Chevening.[105]

Admittedly it should be emphasised that, whilst well-read in the architectural science, the idea that Stanhope should be seen as an enthusiastic Palladian aficionado lacks much in the way of evidence. Nothing suggests that the fact that Chevening was apparently an Inigo Jones house had any impact on his decision to purchase it. There is also no evidence that Stanhope was well-acquainted with the architects who are now most associated with the spread of Palladian styles in the years following the Hanoverian Succession. That is not to say these architects did not try to attract Stanhope - indeed, Colen Campbell made a determined effort to catch his attention. In the second volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1717), an elevation of the recently-purchased Chevening (before Stanhope's alterations) 'where the Apartments are very good and the Rooms large and well-proportion'd' was followed by 'A New Design inscribed to Mr. Secretary Stanhope' (figs. 3.7 and 3.8).[106] Perhaps intended as a proposed remodelling of Chevening (both houses are seven-bays long), certainly it must have been placed alongside the elevation of the existing house to inspire Stanhope.[107] Featuring a giant Corinthian order, flat balustraded roof, alternating triangular and semi-circular window pediments, and rustication, Campbell explicitly linked his design to the work of Andrea Palladio: at each end of the main front were '2 small ¾ Columns which support a *Mars* and *Pallas*, as *Palladio* has done in the Palace of *Vilmarana* at *Vincensa*, whose Example I think a sufficient Authority.'[108] Depictions of the god of war and goddess of wisdom would have been particularly appropriate for the soldier-turned-statesman Stanhope. Stanhope would have undoubtedly seen this design when perusing his

[105] Carter, 'Kit-Cat Club (act. 1696–1720)', *ODNB*.
[106] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, ii., p. 4, pl. 85-86.
[107] Andor Gomme, 'Chevening: The Big Issues', *The Georgian Group Journal*, vol. 14 (2004), p. 170; Wilson, *A House of Distinction*, p. 4; Bryant, *Chevening*, p. 64.
[108] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, ii., p. 4.

own copy of *Vitruvius Britannicus* but he appears not to have been enthused by it, and Campbell was not subsequently employed at Chevening.

Campbell was not the only one who attempted to lobby Stanhope. Writing to Stanhope on 5 October 1717, a few months after the purchase of Chevening, the Irish Whig Robert Molesworth, 1st Viscount Molesworth (1656-1725) remarked:

> Tho' your L^d^p has a world of business as a Treasurer you must at some convenient time afford an hour or 2, & give us leave to appeal to you as a Virtuoso. Sign^r^ Galilei (whose skill & tast in Architecure farr excels any person's who has yet bin in Britain,) has drawn so noble a design for a Royal Pallace at Whitehall, that I dare promise (without fearing my discretion shoud be called in question) you will when you see it think it worth showing to ye King:[109]

'Sign^r^ Galilei' was Alessandro Galilei (1691-1737), a Florentine architect who had been lured to England in 1714 by Molesworth's son John (later 2nd Viscount Molesworth) who was envoy to the Tuscan court. During his five-year stay, Galilei created many designs such as the one for Whitehall mentioned in this letter (though he struggled to secure actual commissions and returned to Florence in 1719) and it is notable that Stanhope was targeted here.[110] No doubt Stanhope's great political clout at this time attracted him to Molesworth as a conduit for Galilei's design to reach the King (presumably Campbell was also enticed by Stanhope's influence and connections).[111] However, it is apparent that the 'Virtuoso' Stanhope also appealed to Molesworth for his own sake:

> I hope ye state of affaires will afford you the leisure to unbend ye mind a little, & if so that yr Ldp will appoint such a convenient time either in Town or at yr Villa wherein Mr Hewet My Eldest Son Signr Galilei & I, & (if you can engage him) Sr George Markham (who are of the new Junta for Architecture) shoud wait upon you you shall see not only the design for Whitehall but several others of Pallaces & churches which I am sure will please & divert one of your good Gusto[112]

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[109] KHLC, U1590/C9/35.
[110] For Galilei, see Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 400-401.
[111] Connor, 'The Making of "Vitruvius Britannicus"', pp. 24-25.
[112] KHLC, U1590/C9/35.

The goal of the Molesworths, Thomas Hewett (an architect who in 1719 was knighted and became Surveyor of the King's Works),[113] Alessandro Galilei, and Sir George Markham, 3rd Baronet (an old political acquaintance of Stanhope's and fifty new churches commissioner)[114] to 'please & divert' Stanhope with palace and church designs may have been the ostensible aim. However, considering Stanhope's recent acquisition of Chevening, this new architectural group spearheaded by Molesworth would surely also have been interested in securing Stanhope's patronage for his own personal projects.

Howard Colvin sees the New Junta's aim as appearing 'to have been to introduce a more classical and less baroque style into British architecture, and Galilei was to be their chosen architect.'[115] This idea is reminiscent of the thoughts regarding architecture outlined by the Molesworths' friend,[116] the Whig philosopher Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury in his famous letter written from Naples to Lord Somers in 1712 (though not officially published until 1732). Here, he poured vitriol on Sir Christopher Wren the 'single Court-Architect' for miscarrying important architectural projects such as St Paul's Cathedral and Hampton Court. More optimistically, Shaftesbury looked forward to a Britain where, under the watchful eye of a public more interested in architecture and with 'a national Taste' in hand, future major architectural endeavours would be carried out more successfully. What Shaftesbury meant by 'a national Taste' is very vague, but presumably (like the New Junta a few years later) it was in contrast to the architecture of Wren and his ilk.[117] Stanhope was on very friendly terms with Shaftesbury, writing to him from Spain in

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[113] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 516-517.
[114] For letters concerning politics from Markham to Stanhope from 1706-1707, see KHLC, U1590/C9/35. Hewlings highlights Stanhope's 'long political collaboration' with Markham (and indeed Molesworth) and assumes that it was through him that Markham secured his fifty new churches commissionership, see Hewlings, 'Lord Stanhope's Apartment at No. 70 Whitehall', p. 28.
[115] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., p. 401.
[116] Alexander Echlin and William Kelley, ''A Shaftesburian Agenda'? Lord Burlington, Lord Shaftesbury and the Intellectual Origins of English Palladianism', *Architectural History*, vol. 59 (2016), p. 227.
[117] Anthony Ashley Cooper Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 5th edn., (3 vols., London, 1732), iii., pp. 400-402; Kerry Downes, 'The Publication of Shaftesbury's "Letter

1709 that 'I have been for these few days last past wounderfully entertaind at Sea, with reading the books Mr Micklewait brought I know not whether I am mistaken in guessing at the Author of the Rhapsody but be he who he will I cannot but admire and love him, I propose to my Self a great Satisfaction in reading him over again with more care and reflection dureing leissure I am like to have here.'[118] This 'Rhapsody' referred to Shaftesbury's own anonymous *The Moralists, A Philosophical Rhapsody*, with Stanhope's remarks implying that he suspected the author was none other than the man he was writing to. Lawrence Klein has described the philosophically-minded Stanhope as becoming 'intoxicated with the Shaftesburian ideal'.[119] With this in mind, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the sort of architectural ideas outlined by Shaftesbury in 1712 were transmitted to Stanhope and potentially influenced his project at Chevening, though admittedly no evidence suggests he saw the letter itself.

Whether Stanhope took on board the advice and mindset of this new generation of architectural thinkers cannot be taken for granted. However, Richard Hewlings's recent analysis of Stanhope's work on his apartments at the Cockpit in Whitehall, which he occupied from 1715 until his death, is enlightening in this respect. Whilst Stanhope did patronise the old architectural guard, sourcing bricks from Nicholas Hawksmoor in 1718 who was Clerk of the Works at Whitehall at the time,[120] Hewlings attributes Stanhope's apartment refurbishment to Thomas Hewett (one of the figures mentioned in Molesworth's New Junta letter) through a stylistic comparison of Stanhope's Whitehall apartments and Hewett's 1720-1721 fitting of three state rooms at Kensington Palace. One element that particularly strikes Hewlings in the Whitehall apartments is the room with a very distinctive

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Concerning Design"', *Architectural History*, vol. 27 (1984), pp. 519-523; Echlin and Kelley, ''A Shaftesburian Agenda'?', pp. 221-223.

[118] KHLC, U1590/C9/36.

[119] Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 45-46.

[120] KHLC, U1590/E26/3; Hewlings, 'Lord Stanhope's Apartment at No. 70 Whitehall', p. 28.

reductive Doric order which omits the usual components like the architrave, frieze, triglyphs, and guttae. Hewett characterised his work at Kensington as in 'the Grecian taste' and perhaps these 'careful realisations of Doric, Ionic and Corinthian ornament, astylar presumably because of the domestic context' is what he meant.[121] Unfortunately, despite Hewlings's interesting work on Stanhope's apartments at Whitehall and the way he links that to Hewett and the New Junta, an analysis of the architects at Chevening only allows for rather tentative conclusions. There were two principal architects involved in Stanhope's programme of additions and alterations at Chevening. The first, Thomas Fort (d. 1745), was a joiner-cum-architect by trade with no obvious architectural links. Hewlings suggests that, if Fort had any meaningful connections, they may have lay with Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor rather than the New Junta in light of his appointment as Clerk of the Works at Hampton Court during the twilight years of Wren's surveyorship. However, it is difficult to say for certain, especially considering his later appointment as Clerk of the Works at Newmarket sometime in 1719.[122]

The second architect involved at Chevening was the Frenchman Nicholas Dubois (c. 1665-1735), a former military engineer who had fought in the British army in both Spain and Flanders during the War of Spanish Succession. Earlier in the 1710s he had produced the English translation for Giacomo Leoni's edition of Palladio's *Quattro libri* which, as has been seen, Stanhope owned. In contrast to Fort, Dubois did have clear links with the New Junta, briefly being an architectural partner of Alessandro Galilei (the partnership agreement was witnessed by Lord Molesworth and Thomas Hewett in 1718) before Galilei's return to Italy in 1719. Following Hewett's appointment as Surveyor, Dubois became Master Mason at the

[121] Hewlings, 'Lord Stanhope's Apartment at No. 70 Whitehall', pp. 30-32.
[122] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 385-386; Hewlings, 'Lord Stanhope's Apartment at No. 70 Whitehall', p. 29.

Office of Works in November 1719 presumably thanks to Hewett's support and patronage.[123] In 1721 Captain Dubois was commissioned to replace the old staircase at Chevening with a new 'hanging' one (completed 1723). As Grizel Stanhope later claimed in a 1797 memorandum: 'Capt Dubois was the person directed about the Great (Geometrical) Staircase at Chevening. One of the same kind at his House in Brewer Street being liked so the Old Stone Stair (probably bad) was taken down & the wooden one put up.'[124]

Frustratingly, no evidence has been found directly linking Stanhope to Dubois, with apparently the earliest surviving reference to Dubois and the new staircase being in a letter of Governor Pitt's: 'Mr. Dubois promises to finish ye stair [up to?] all expenditure', dating from 23 February 1721, just six days after Stanhope's funeral.[125] Dubois is later referred to in a letter dated 13 June 1721 from one of the Stanhopes' agents which hints at a proposal to make Dubois surveyor of the works at Chevening: 'I wrote by Mr Snow the Carpenter to Captn DuBois desiring him to give Orders as my Lady [Stanhope] desir'd, And inserted verbatim the Article in the Orders You Sent wch Related to him, wch Letter Captn DuBois Answer'd'. This was followed by a copy of a letter from Dubois where the Frenchman claimed he was

> very Proud of Serving my Lady Stanhope & very willing to obey her orders but as Govern^{r} Pitt has Employed another Survey^{r}, M^{r} [John] James of Greenwich, I should not care to have anything to dispute wth him, because I do not know him, besides I would be glad, if my Lady is willing to Employ me, that she would give me more particular Orders of what She desires to be done, and in Such case it will be necessary that I should go to Chevening to give directions upon the Spot.[126]

It is unclear whether these objections were overcome, but the point remains that this documentary evidence helps to connect Dubois with dowager Countess Stanhope and the Pitts but not the deceased Earl Stanhope. Nevertheless, considering the short space of time

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[123] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 333-335; Hewlings, 'Lord Stanhope's Apartment at No. 70 Whitehall', p. 29.
[124] KHLC, U1590/E26/4.
[125] Quoted in Wilson, *A House of Distinction*, p. 21.
[126] KHLC, U1590/E26/4.

between Stanhope's death and the letter of Governor Pitt's which references Dubois, it is highly probable that the first steps towards the commission would have been made before Stanhope's sudden demise.[127] Furthermore, Hewlings and Colvin speculate that Dubois may have had earlier involvement at Chevening, designing the additions that were then executed by Fort, although this remains unproven.[128]

The full picture of architecture patronage at Chevening remains clouded. However, if Hewlings is right with his attribution of Stanhope's apartments in Whitehall to Hewett at the same time as Stanhope was remodelling Chevening, then it certainly appears that Stanhope was open to patronising architects from the New Junta camp. Nevertheless, one must be very careful here. For one thing, from Stanhope's point of view, the idea of a distinct (and desirable) New Junta architectural style may have been of very little concern. Indeed, some of the chimney pieces at Chevening are effectively just copies of Vanbrugh's at Hampton Court.[129] Relative to Campbell's explicitly Palladian design inscribed to Stanhope in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the remodelling of Chevening was in many ways an exercise in conservative classicism primarily consisting of expanding the house in a manner sympathetic to the existing astylar building which Stanhope chose to retain (perhaps so that it could be moved into by the family quickly). Therefore, the idea of viewing Stanhope as some revolutionary architectural pioneer would be an exaggeration. However, his and Lady Stanhope's willingness to employ new men such as Hewett and Dubois can be seen as a statement. This was a family that was ascending under a new Hanoverian regime, and consequently was one that was going to patronise a different group of architects to that of the previous generation. Certainly, Hewlings notes that Hewett, upon his appointment as Surveyor in 1719, 'was more

[127] Wilson and Bryant assume that it was Stanhope himself who had admired Dubois's staircase in Brewer Street, see Wilson, *A House of Distinction*, p. 16; Bryant, *Chevening*, p. 16.
[128] Hewlings, 'Lord Stanhope's Apartment at No. 70 Whitehall', p. 29; Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 334-335, 386.
[129] Colvin suggests that these were the work of Fort who was Clerk of Works at Hampton Cout, see *Ibid.*, p. 386.

closely identified with the government [in which Stanhope served as Secretary of State] which appointed him than most other Surveyors General'.[130]

v.

Stanhope inserted several mementos of his career into the ornamentation of Chevening. For example, one account from November 1721 asked 'Whether the old Spanish Stones Shall be Set in such a Form as Eithir of ye Modles and in What place it shall be built', with a later annotation presuming these were 'the Roman marbles brought by General Stanhope from Tarragona'.[131] These antique tombstones, still on display at Chevening, were apparently acquired by Stanhope in Spain whilst on campaign in c. 1708 and were 'presented to the General, by the *Cuerpo Municipal* of Tarragona, as a token of gratitude for the great services he had rendered to that town and to Spain.'[132] Whilst in Spain, Stanhope may also have acquired the ornate c. 1588 suit of armour previously belonging to the Spanish Armada commander, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, now on display in the great hall at Chevening, although alternatively this could have been acquired by Stanhope's father, Alexander, when he was English envoy to Madrid in the 1690s.[133] Stanhope must have been similarly proud of his rare Berlin tapestries at Chevening even if they were not actually hung in his lifetime. The tapestries bear both the signature of Jean Barraband, who ran a Huguenot tapestry factory in Berlin between 1708 and 1725, and (on the two tapestries representing Winter and Spring) the Prussian eagle with the initials 'FWR' (Fredericus Wilhelmus Rex). Stanhope was

[130] Hewlings, 'Lord Stanhope's Apartment at No. 70 Whitehall', pp. 28-29.
[131] KHLC, U1590/E26/7.
[132] Bryant, *Chevening*, fig. 85; Scott Robertson, 'Chevening House', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. 16 (1886), p. 127.
[133] Bryant, *Chevening*, pp. 16-19, 85-87. The suit of armour forms the centrepiece of an array of muskets and other weaponry, although certainly some of these weapons were acquired by the 2nd Earl Stanhope in the 1730s.

probably presented the tapestries as a reward for his diplomatic services by King in Prussia Frederick William I in 1720.[134]

Stanhope also accumulated rewards for his service from his own monarch that he could display such as 'The Quantity of One Thousand & Fifteen ounces & 15^{dw} of White plate for the Use of his Table'. This was initially lent to Stanhope by George I and then permanently bestowed upon him in 1717 due to 'the many good and acceptable Services Performed unto Us by the said James Lord Viscount Stanhope'.[135] George I's fondness for Stanhope, a British minister with a particularly deep interest in European politics and who appreciated the importance of the Electorate of Hanover in George's foreign policy, is well-known. As George I's biographer Ragnhild Hatton notes, 'The king could neither sleep nor eat' following Stanhope's sudden death in February 1721, and he visited Lady Stanhope to offer his condolences, quickly establishing a pension of £3000 per year for her.[136] In addition, the King's affection for his late Secretary of State presumably motivated his active involvement in securing the acquittal of Charles Stanhope, James's beloved cousin, who was being investigated by Parliament over his links with the South Sea Company.[137]

It was therefore gifts and rewards that formed the commemorative element of Chevening. Unlike Marlborough at Blenheim for instance, Stanhope did not evoke his martial past too brazenly. Possibily this was due to the British army's mixed success in the Spanish theatre during the War of Spanish Succession or perhaps, like the critics of Blenheim's overt militarism, that sort of symbolism was simply not to Stanhope's taste. Whilst, according to a

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[134] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-51; Wilson, *A House of Distinction*, pp. 12-13; Helen Wyld, 'A Princely Gift', *Country Life*, vol. 206, no. 9 (29 February 2012), pp. 57-59. The Prussian coat of arms has evidently been sewn on top of the tapestry, indicating that these were existing tapestries quickly converted into royal gifts.
[135] KHLC, U1590/O115/1, 2.
[136] Hatton, *George I: Elector and King*, p. 255. Vanbrugh similarly remarked on how shaken the King was upon hearing the news of Stanhope's death and his eagerness to provide for the widowed Lady Stanhope, see Vanbrugh, *Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, iv., p. 129.
[137] Hatton, *George I: Elector and King*, pp. 255-256; Romney R. Sedgwick, 'Stanhope, Charles (1673-1760), of Elvaston, Derbys.', *HoC 1715-1754*.

June 1721 letter, 'Mr Fort designed the Figure of a Gladiator Standing upon a Pedestal in the middle of the Grass Platt, & Military Trophies in the Blank Windows of the Offices', these were presumably never executed.[138] Nevertheless, Stanhope can still be seen as commemorating his military and government service through his ornamentation of Chevening with objects acquired during his army and political careers, and here of course he followed in the footsteps of many of his contemporaries.

For example, the soldier-diplomat Thomas Wentworth, 3rd Baron Raby (created Earl of Strafford in 1711), met a number of European dignitaries during his time at the court of Frederick I in Berlin between 1703 and 1711. At Strafford's country house in Yorkshire was a version of Samuel Theodor Gericke's painting commemorating the visit of Augustus II of Poland and Frederick IV of Denmark to Prussia in 1709. Depicting the three kings in their regalia holding hands, the painting was gifted to Strafford after he dined with the monarchs in his capacity as British ambassador. By proudly displaying this triple portrait in his country house, Strafford therefore sought to commemorate this notable occasion in his diplomatic career.[139] However, in contrast to Stanhope's pre-eminence under George I, after the Hanoverian Succession Strafford became politically suspect and he subsequently lost his regiment and all his offices. Thus, the material world he encased himself in became a reflection of a career lost rather than one he continued to enjoy.[140]

Stanhope's uniqueness amongst this thesis's case studies derives not only from the scale of his political (rather than military) achievements but also from the brevity of his relationship with Chevening, there being fewer than four years between Stanhope's

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[138] KHLC, U1590/E26/4.

[139] Patrick Eyres, 'Lord Raby's Embassies and Their Representation at Wentworth Castle', in Patrick Eyres and James Lomax (eds.), *Diplomats, Goldsmiths and Baroque Court Culture: Lord Raby in Berlin, The Hague and Wentworth Castle* (Stainborough, 2014), p. 52; Toynbee, 'Horace Walpole's Journals of Visits to Country Seats', pp. 27-28.

[140] Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp. 229-230, illustration 9.5. Strafford is discussed further in chapter four.

purchase of the estate and his sudden death. Nevertheless, this chapter has highlighted the importance of the soldier-turned-politician as a case study and the different social, political, and architectural themes which can be explored in the context of his country estate. It has also emphasised the significance of social and political networks – be that Stanhope's patron the Duke of Somerset providing him with accommodation at Syon or Stanhope's interaction with architects and architectural thinkers such as the New Junta for Architecture. Kinship networks were of fundamental importance. Stanhope relied on the Pitts — notably his wife Lady Stanhope, her brother Lord Londonderry, and her father Governor Pitt, to help purchase and develop Chevening. This was augumented by individuals tied to Stanhope by professional links such as Colonel Otway who was entrusted with substantial responsibility over matters like the supervision of the workmen. For both Stanhope and Governor Pitt, Chevening was to be a long-term dynastic statement in a way that Caversham for Cadogan never was. In addition, although this was no martial monument like Blenheim, Stanhope nonetheless memorialised his military and political careers through the display of objects he acquired or was gifted. In sum, a nuanced picture can be built up of Stanhope's relationship with his country estate which reveals how he intended to use Chevening both during his career and in retirement had he not been struck down in his prime.



Figure 3.1 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *James Stanhope (later 1st Earl Stanhope)*, c. 1710.



Figure 3.2 Johan van Diest (attrib.), *James Stanhope, 1st Earl Stanhope*, c. 1718.

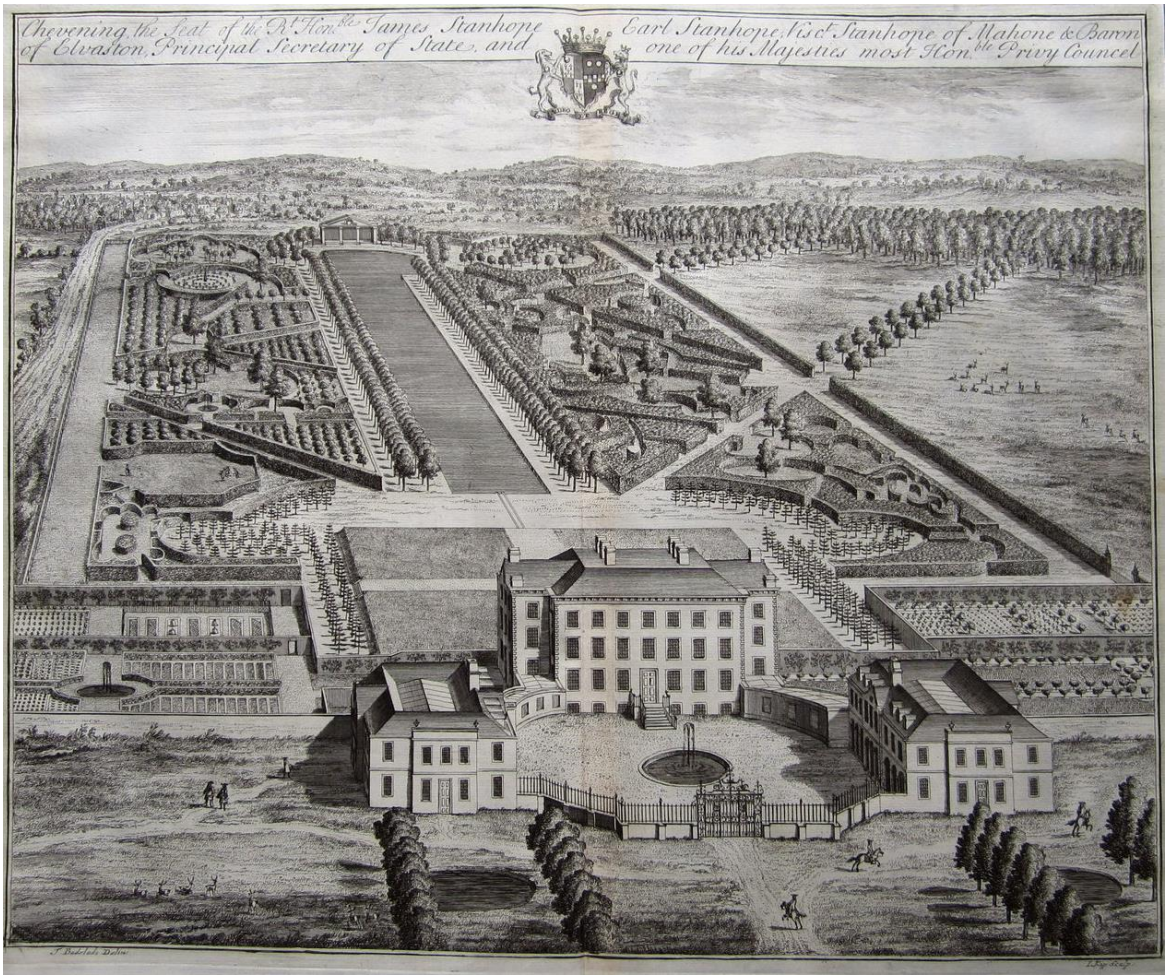

Figure 3.3 Thomas Badeslade, *Chevening the Seat of the Rt Honble James Stanhope Earl Stanhope*, in *The History of Kent* (London, 1719), inserted after p. 74.



Figure 3.4 After Enoch Seeman, *John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough and John Armstrong*, c. 1720?

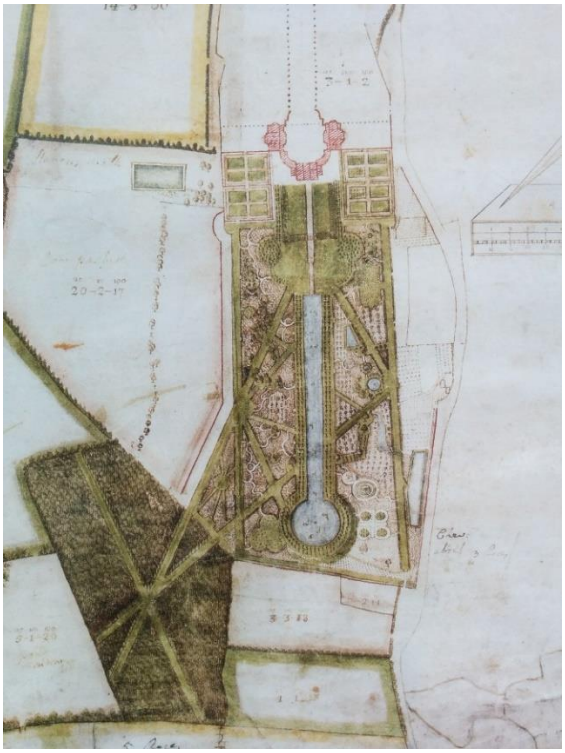

Figure 3.5 A detail from unknown draughtsman, *Estate survey of Chevening*, c. 1720, in *Chevening: A Seat of Diplomacy* (London, 2017), fig. 83.



Figure 3.6 A detail from Mitchel, *Chevening Garden*, 1747, KHLC, U1590/P1.

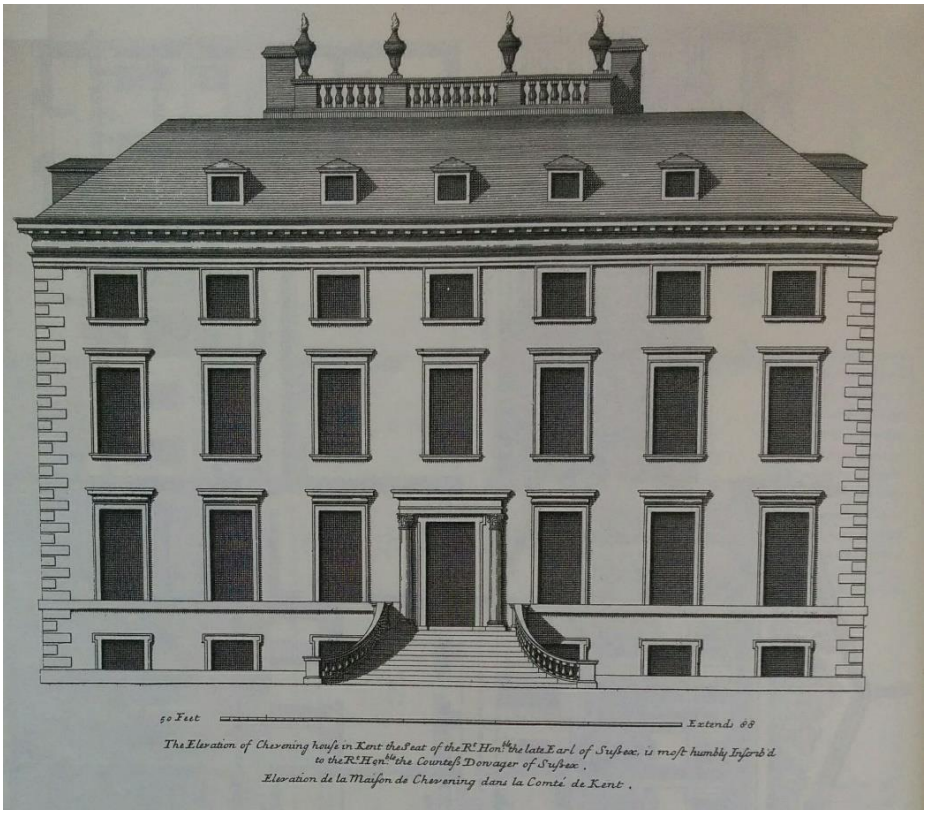

Figure 3.7 Colen Campbell, *The Elevation of Chevening house in Kent the Seat of the R^t Honble the late Earl of Sussex, is most humbly Inscrib'd to the R^t Honble the Countess Dowager of Sussex*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), ii., pl. 85.

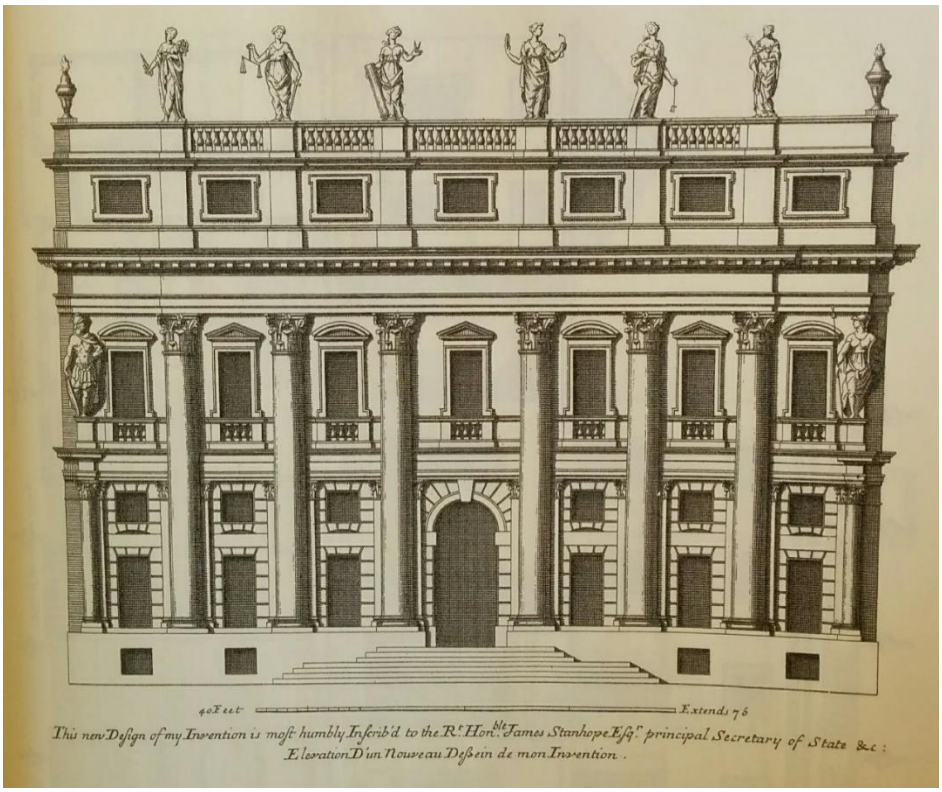

Figure 3.8 Colen Campbell, *This new Design of my Invention is most humbly Inscrib'd to the R^t Honble James Stanhope Esqr*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), ii., pl. 86.

Chapter Four – The Earl of Strafford and his Estates:

Aspiration and Self-Fashioning During Political Highs and Lows

Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford (1672-1739) (figs. 4.1 and 4.2), a great-nephew of the Earl of Strafford who had been a major statesman during Charles I's reign, was an army officer and diplomat. The second son of Sir William Wentworth (c. 1636-1692), Thomas became a page to James II's queen Mary of Modena through his mother Isabella's court connections but followed his older brother (who died in 1693) into William III's army in 1688. Wentworth proceeded to serve the new regime in both Scotland and then in Flanders during the Nine Years' War, taking part in battles and sieges such as Steenkerke, Landen, and Namur. Becoming an aide-de-camp to William III in 1692, and then a Groom of the Bedchamber in 1695, Wentworth acquired the colonelcy of the Royal Regiment of Dragoons in 1697, a commission which he held until 1715. In October 1695 Thomas Wentworth inherited the title Baron Raby from William Wentworth, 2nd Earl of Strafford (a cousin of his father's) though the earldom became extinct and the great Wentworth estates in Yorkshire and Ireland went, much to Raby and his immediate family's chagrin, to the 2nd Earl of Strafford's nephew, Thomas Watson (who adopted the additional surname of Wentworth).

Unlike his consistent service during the Nine Years' War, Raby's military participation became much more sporadic in the War of Spanish Succession though that did not stop further military promotion, Raby reaching the rank of lieutenant-general in 1707. Although he served in Marlborough's army in Flanders in 1702, and then again in 1706, Raby's career became chiefly that of a diplomat. After visiting Berlin in 1701 when William III sent him to congratulate Frederick I on his accession as King in Prussia, Raby served as envoy from 1703, and ambassador from 1706, to the Prussian court until 1711. He then served as ambassador at The Hague and plenipotentiary at the peace talks to conclude the War of Spanish Succession alongside the Bishop of Bristol until 1714. In the meantime, Raby was created Earl of Strafford in September 1711, became a Privy Councillor, and served as First Lord of

the Admiralty 1712-1714. Burdened with the controversial peace negotiations that culminated in the Treaty of Utrecht, his career did not survive the Hanoverian Succession and in 1715 impeachment proceedings were begun against Strafford, although he was never prosecuted. Nevertheless, Strafford lost all his ministerial and diplomatic roles as well as his regiment, never to hold public office again.[1]

During his life Strafford acquired various estates but his principal seat was Stainborough Hall in southern Yorkshire (later renamed Wentworth Castle),[2] purchased for £14,150 in June 1708.[3] One of the main factors driving Raby's (as he was then styled) purchase of the estate was family rivalry with his Watson-Wentworth relatives who had inherited the Wentworth ancestral estate at Wentworth Woodhouse nearby and who Raby sought to outdo.[4] His determination to secure the Stainborough estate can be seen in a letter written from Berlin to his agent John Bromley in the run-up to the sale in 1708. Raby noted he would pay a £500 or £600 premium to secure the estate 'and should be very sorry should I lose this purchase by my answer coming too late… I have desired leave already to take a turn into England about it, and so shall be much disappointed to lose that purchase.'[5]

In February 1709, Raby highlighted his acquisition to William Cadogan and emphasised that he now had 'almost as much land in Yorkshire' as the Watson-Wentworths 'and am sure I have a much better interest in that country; nor can I think the consideration of him can be any bar to me [acquiring the earldom of Strafford], since he can have no

[1] This biographical information derives from Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, 'Wentworth, Thomas, First Earl of Strafford (1672-1739)', *ODNB*; *HoL 1660-1715*, iv., pp. 844-853. For Strafford's life also see the introductory memoir in *The Wentworth Papers*, pp. 1-35.
[2] The renaming took place in the early 1730s as evidenced by letters from builder Joseph Bower Jr, see BL, Add MS 22239 (Papers of the families of Johnson and Wentworth, Earls of Strafford), fols. 197-200.
[3] Joseph Wilkinson, *Worthies, Families, and Celebrities of Barnsley and the District* (London, 1883), p. 327.
[4] For more on this rivalry, see Michael Charlesworth, 'The Wentworths: Family and Political Rivalry in the English Landscape Garden', *Garden History*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Autumn 1986), pp. 120-137.
[5] Quoted in Wilkinson, *Worthies, Families, and Celebrities of Barnsley and the District*, p. 325.

pretensions like mine, and is one that has been and ever will be against the court and the ministry'.[6] This spirit of competitiveness was prevalent amongst Raby's family as well. His mother fretted that the Strafford earldom might be revived for the Watson-Wentworths rather than Raby,[7] and his younger brother Peter Wentworth (d. 1739), an equerry at court, wrote on 15 March 1709 that he had showed their mother the plans for the new wing Raby was beginning to construct at Stainborough (fig. 4.3). Apparently, 'She stood amased at it, and said the least such a building cou'd cost inside and out wou'd be ten thousand pounds', leading Peter to smugly conclude that it would 'make his Great Honour [Thomas Watson-Wentworth] burst with envy and his Little Honour [his son] pine and die.'[8]

Strafford's estate at Wentworth Castle has been subject to significant interest in recent years by art and architectural historians. Two volumes based on conference proceedings and edited by Patrick Eyres have examined issues such as political symbolism at Wentworth Castle and the influence of Strafford's diplomatic career on his architectural and artistic choices.[9] Strafford during his political heyday in Anne's reign is also a major case study in Helen Jacobsen's study of Stuart diplomats and material culture as well as in Hannah Greig's research on London's fashionable 'Beau Monde'.[10] Neither Jacobsen nor Greig pay much attention to Strafford after his political downfall however. This chapter has incorporated this pre-existing analysis and added to it with new research, not just relating to Wentworth Castle but also Strafford's other country estates scattered across England. By encompassing aspects of Strafford's life from Anne's reign all the way until his death in 1739, a fuller picture has been unearthed of the social, political, and architectural activities of an

[6] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 22.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107, 173-174.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[9] *Wentworth Castle and Georgian Political Gardening: Jacobites, Tories and Dissident Whigs*, ed. Patrick Eyres (Stainborough, 2012); *Diplomats, Goldsmiths and Baroque Court Culture: Lord Raby in Berlin, The Hague and Wentworth Castle*, eds. Patrick Eyres and James Lomax (Stainborough, 2014).
[10] Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp. 209-230; Greig, *The Beau Monde*, pp. 30-237 *passim*.

officer whose military and political career collapsed rather than flourished under the Hanoverians.

This chapter is split into five sections. The first section examines the links between Strafford and his fellow senior army officers. Despite Strafford's limited action during the War of Spanish Succession, his relationships (whether cordial or troubled) with figures such as Marlborough, Cadogan, Stanhope, and Argyll are of great value in exploring themes such as Strafford's eagerness to secure an earldom or the political turbulence he experienced following the Hanoverian Succession. The second section focuses on Strafford's marriage to Anne Johnson, the daughter of a wealthy Tory shipbuilder, and the country estates and electoral interests which this brought him. In contrast to the couple's London house, the surviving sources suggest that Lady Strafford played a relatively insignificant role in the development of Strafford's country estates. The third section highlights Strafford's interest in the country houses of others and the sort of architectural advice which he sought from friends and connoisseurs. It also shows how he tried to advertise his remote Yorkshire seat through prints and engravings. The fourth section examines how Strafford valued the different elements of his estate portfolio and how he sought to pass on both estate advice to his son and heir William as well as an impeccable political reputation, despite earlier attempts by the Whigs to impeach him. Finally, the fifth section considers the historiographical treatment of Strafford as a Jacobite after 1714. Whilst there was certainly some truth to this, this section suggests that such a label oversimplifies Strafford and that in fact there are numerous links which can be drawn between him and the Hanoverians exemplified by instances such as when he sent architectural plans to a courtier for Queen Caroline's amusement in 1730.

I.

In the course of his career, Strafford naturally built up relationships with his military colleagues, though these could be very tempestuous. By the 1710s, Strafford had a particularly difficult relationship with the Captain-General, the Duke of Marlborough. Before then Marlborough had been a patron of Raby and, though in contemporary letters it can be difficult to discern what feelings are genuine and what is just politeness, Raby seems to speak with real fondness when he wrote to George Stepney, the English envoy in Vienna, of Marlborough's visit to Berlin in 1704: 'His Grace has given great satisfaction here with that affable obliging behaviour which answers all his other extraordinary qualifications, and he is extremely contented with this court, and the success he had had in his negociations which will appear to be much for the advantage of the common cause.'[11] Marlborough and Raby's relationship began to fracture by the end of the decade with Marlborough writing to his wife Sarah as early as 1708 with regards to an enclosed copy of a letter by Raby that 'You know I have no good opinion of the auther'.[12] Marlborough was likely becoming increasingly annoyed by Raby's demands to both be a plenipotentiary at the peace conference, whenever that would be, and to acquire the earldom of Strafford. Marlborough never truly wanted Raby to be a plenipotentiary, commenting in a letter to Godolphin in the spring of 1710 that Raby's temper was ill-suited for the job and that 'He must only be named in the comission as Lord Lexinton was at the last peace [at Ryswick in 1697], but neither assist nor signe.'[13] Marlborough's reluctance to let him be seriously involved in the peace negotiations infuriated Raby, and later that spring Marlborough wrote to Godolphin that 'Lord Raby is also very unjustly angry with mee, that he is not treating as he cals it at The Hague', to which Godolphin contemptuously responded that Raby was 'entirely conceited of himself and

[11] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 12.
[12] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ii., p. 979
[13] *Ibid.*, iii., p. 1441.

unreasonable, and in case he can gett leave to come over here this winter will bee exceedingly troublesome, and encourage all the follyes of 13 [Somerset] and the mischiefs of 199 [Harley].'[14] Raby's brother Peter's comments around the same period that he had hoped Raby 'might have come to the Hague in spite of the Duke of M' also suggest that Raby had vented his frustrations in his letters home.[15]

Raby also pestered Marlborough for his support in securing the Strafford earldom, to which Marlborough was similarly discouraging, claiming that Raby needed to have £4000 per year in order to sustain the title. Even when Raby claimed this was the case in 1707, Marlborough evidently did not believe him, writing to Godolphin in May that 'You will see by the enclosed from Lord Raby [a letter from Raby claiming his estate satisfied the £4000 per year requirement] the great desire he has of being an Earle. I wish for his own sake his estate were 4,000 pounds a yeare. Pray let me know what I may say to him, for I take it for granted he can't be gratified.'[16] Two years later Raby still clung to this, writing to Cadogan that, now that he had purchased the Stainborough estate, 'since the Duke's only objection formerly was that I had not estate eno' to support it, and that I have now 4000*l*. a year of my own, I think this is no more an objection.'[17] Ultimately Raby would abandon Marlborough and be rewarded with the Strafford earldom in 1711 by the new administration headed by the Earl of Oxford.[18] Certainly, Marlborough's wealth and magnificent new house at Blenheim was emphasised to Raby (as if he himself was not already aware) by his affectionate, if rather domineering, mother Isabella. Writing on 18 September 1705, she hoped Raby would one day be 'as ritch as the Duke of Molberry whoe is billding the fynest hous at Woodstock that ever was seen... It is beleeved furniture and al cannot cost les than three hundred thoussand

[14] *Ibid.*, iii., pp. 1484, 1489.
[15] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 116.
[16] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ii., pp. 769-770.
[17] *The Wentworth Papers,* p. 22.
[18] *HoL 1660-1715*, iv., pp. 848-849.

pd, the house will cost above a hundred thousand pd. Why should you not be as fortunate as he?'[19] It would be unsurprising if such comments fed Raby's envy. After all, as a correspondent of Governor Thomas Pitt observed at the beginning of 1707 having listed all the various rewards that had been bestowed upon Marlborough (including the 'very great palace' he was building at Woodstock), 'Great is the man, and great have been his actions, but all these favours create enemies.'[20]

Certainly, at some point during one of his flying visits to England during his ambassadorial years, Strafford paid a visit to Blenheim (as a letter from his friend Lord Berkeley of Stratton attests), although there is no record of what Strafford himself made of it.[21] As Helen Jacobsen notes however, Strafford was clearly influenced by Marlborough's tastes in interiors. For example, subsequent to the arranging in 1709 for four bronze copies of antique statues in the Uffizi to be cast by the Florentine sculptor Massimiliano Soldani and delivered to Blenheim, Strafford strove to acquire similar copies of antiques for Wentworth Castle and initially planned to consult 'the same that did those for the duke of Marlborough', though in the end he patronised one of Soldani's rivals, Giovanni Battista Foggini, instead.[22] Whilst he did ultimately go with a different artist, the point remains that Marlborough's relationship with material culture acted as a sort of blueprint for Strafford to follow just as Marlborough's allies such as Cadogan were presumably influenced by their Captain-General's tastes and commissions. Likewise, as Hannah Greig has shown, the Countess of Strafford sought to emulate what she saw in Marlborough House in the Straffords' own London residence in St James's Square in the early 1710s.[23]

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[19] *The Wentworth Papers,* pp. 48-49.
[20] *HMC Fortescue*, i. p. 28.
[21] *The Wentworth Papers,* pp. 344-346. In the summer of 1713 Berkeley visited Blenheim and sent a description of it to Strafford. In a following letter he apologised 'for troubling your Lordship with a tedious account of Blenheim, quite forgetting that you had seen it which now I perfectly remember.'
[22] Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p. 227.
[23] Greig, *The Beau Monde*, pp. 44-45.

Strafford enjoyed something more akin to friendship with some of his other military colleagues who were closer to his own age. For example, at least in the 1690s, Strafford, then Lord Raby, and the Whig officer James Stanhope evidently got along well. They both served in William III's army in Flanders during the Nine Years' War and would have undoubtedly met. Raby was aide-de-camp to the King from August 1692 and Stanhope quickly charmed his way into the King's inner circle upon his arrival in Flanders in August 1694. Later they both accompanied the Earl of Portland's embassy to Paris in 1698 and, after Stanhope left the embassy following some misunderstanding with Portland, Raby sent 'my dear Coll Stanhop' an affectionate letter on 7 April 1698 joking that their French hosts were much more amenable now that the wild youth Stanhope had departed.[24] However, it appears that Raby and Stanhope's friendship largely fizzled out by the following decade. For example, Raby's comparison of himself to Stanhope when boasting of his military experience in February 1711 suggests a certain envy in light of Raby's limited active service during the War of Spanish Succession: 'I had the good fortune to be Colonel when Mr. Stanhope was but Captain last war, and to be a general officer this, when he was but Colonel; for I served from the very revolution where I begun in Scotland, and did not miss one campaign last war'.[25] Nevertheless, when impeachment proceedings were begun against Strafford by the Whigs in 1715, he attempted to use what credit he may have had with Stanhope, by then a Secretary of State, when fighting his case. For example, writing on 3 September in the hopes of obtaining copies of papers which were in Stanhope's office, Strafford emphasised that 'I can assure you 'tis far from being with any reluctancy that I apply my self to an Old acquaintance (I hope I may say friend)'. However, Stanhope's reply a few days later, whilst

[24] Frey and Frey, 'Wentworth, Thomas, First Earl of Strafford (1672-1739)', *ODNB*; Hanham, 'Stanhope, James, First Earl Stanhope (1673-1721)', *ODNB*; KHLC, U1590/C9/35.
[25] *The Wentworth Papers,* p. 27.

perfectly polite and compliant, had little warmth and declined to mention the old friendship that Strafford tried to evoke.[26]

William Cadogan, whom Strafford had befriended in Ireland in their youth, was a particularly important military correspondent.[27] Strafford, then Lord Raby, had fought alongside Cadogan in Flanders during the Nine Years' War and the War of Spanish Succession. In 1706 Raby accompanied Cadogan on a grand foraging mission near Tournai. Their force was ambushed by the French and Raby and Cadogan ended up thrown into a ditch. Raby managed to escape but Cadogan was captured, the latter later writing (in captivity) to Raby that 'I assure your Lordship the greatest pain I had when I was taken was my apprehension for your Lordship's safety, which I was not assured of till my Trumpet came in the evening.'[28] Perhaps partly as a result of this intimate military relationship, Cadogan was also clearly a trusted confidante of Raby. On 16 February 1709, Raby wrote Cadogan a long lamenting letter from Berlin about 'my misfortune of growing old in a foreign country' and the unresponsiveness of Marlborough towards Raby's ambitions of being sworn into the Privy Council, acquiring the Strafford earldom, and becoming a plenipotentiary when it was time for the peace conference: 'Here I want all your friendship; for God's sake, counsel me what shall do. I would not be importunate to my Lord Duke, and I would not live in despair.'[29] Cadogan's closeness to Marlborough was presumably a factor in Raby's lobbying of him, but Raby also seems to have genuinely cared for the advice of his old friend. In one of his responses, Cadogan wrote that he would try and do what he could with Marlborough and 'Touching the pretensions you have to be Earl of Strafford, I think it extremely just, and that both your birth and services give you an undoubted right to such a favour'.[30] Whilst this

[26] BL, Add MS 31139, fols. 464-467.
[27] Stansfield, 'Early Modern Systems of Command', pp. 54-55.
[28] *The Wentworth Papers,* pp. 18-20.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

may have been careful politeness, it satisfied Raby enough for him to develop a certain loyalty towards Cadogan. Despite increasingly finding themselves on different political sides, Strafford wrote to the Earl of Oxford as late as January 1712 and argued that Oxford should try and keep Cadogan on side 'since no man knows the Spanish Low Countries better than he does, nor is more expert in the affair of quartermaster general; and really without partiality, to one side or other, I do believe the greatest part of Lord Marlborough's victories are owing to him'.[31] It was only after the Hanoverian Succession that Strafford's relationship with Cadogan (who replaced him at The Hague) finally broke down. As Andrew A. Hanham notes, Strafford's championing of Cadogan was not reciprocated and the latter joined in the persecution of Strafford alongside Oxford in 1715.[32] Some of Strafford's army relationships did survive the Hanoverian Succession however. For example, in June 1722 the Earl of Orkney, a loyal Hanoverian but moderate in his politics, wrote to Strafford 'to desire the Honnour of seeing y^{r} Lop and my Lady here' at his estate at Cliveden.[33]

Despite an eight-year age gap, one of Strafford's strongest friendships with a senior army officer was with John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll. Argyll was a powerful figure at court, Godolphin remarking in March 1710 that he was, next to the Duke of Somerset, 'one of the greatest favorites.'[34] Strafford's wife Anne and his brother Peter were always sure to pass on Argyll's compliments in their letters.[35] Strafford himself wrote to Argyll in February 1711 to congratulate him on being made commander-in-chief of the British forces in Spain, admitting that whilst he had once wanted it himself, 'I beg you to believe me that there is no man in Great Britain (since I have lost all hopes myself) that I had rather had that command than your grace.'[36] Whilst both were military men, Strafford and Argyll would admittedly

[31] *HMC Portland*, ix., p. 323. Letter misdated as January 1713.
[32] Hanham, 'Cadogan, William (c.1671-1726), of Caversham, Berks. and Jermyn Street, Westminster', *HoC 1690-1715*.
[33] BL, Add MS 22222, fol. 140.
[34] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, iii., p. 1432.
[35] For example, see *The Wentworth Papers,* pp. 280, 289-90.
[36] *Ibid.,* p. 27.

have had little opportunity to serve alongside each other. Although colonel of a regiment raised by his family, Argyll was still an adolescent at the end of the Nine Years' War and Strafford's sporadic participation in the War of Spanish Succession has already been noted. Nevertheless, they were both seasoned soldiers and later viewed by Strafford's friend Lord Berkeley of Stratton as paragons of military valour. After Strafford had an equestrian accident whilst trying to ride 'a skittish colt', Berkeley wrote to him October 1732 reproaching him:

> I think the Duke of Argyle's maxim is a very good one, that one ought not to run any hazards in time of peace. It sounds well in his mouth and it wou'd so in your lordship's, as you have both distinguish'd yourselves by military courage. We country gentlemen may be fond of showing our prowess in venturing our necks a hunting, but such atchievements will add no honour to those who have lookt death in the face in battles and seiges. Your country, your family, your friends, my lord, have all a right to reproach you for this useless danger you have run yourself into.[37]

Strafford and Argyll also had a mutual dislike of the Duke of Marlborough to bond over. Strafford rather cattily remarked to Argyll from The Hague on 9 November 1711 that Marlborough, who was also there, 'does not make that figour he used to do, people sees he is no more trusted to govern as he pleases so his Court is much les than formerly… I own I pitty him to see the changement, but I cant but be pleased to see some about him mortify'd, tho he nor they never cared for me, tho I did not deserve it from them, & till I found he was doing me ill offices, I never left his Party.'[38]

Not only was there genuine affection between Strafford and Argyll, but Strafford also hoped that Argyll would be of political use. Writing from The Hague on 28 September 1714, shortly after George I had arrived in Britain, Strafford rather transparently tried to use Argyll's good political standing, particularly with the Prince of Wales, to salvage his own

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 477.
[38] BL, Add MS 22221, fols. 66-67.

fortunes in the face of increasing hostility towards the peace negotiations he had presided over:

> The king has indeed shown me more Graces whilst he was here then I coud expect, & I am sure I have thorougly justifyd myself to him, as I coud to the whole nation were I calld to doe it; yet my Lord your Grace's mentioning me only to his Maj^{ty} as one you had a consideration for woud be of great use, but more espetially to the Prince, from whom tho I expect nothing, yet I shoud be glad to be well with.[39]

Whilst Strafford claimed, sincerely or not, that he was undecided whether he would be happier in or out of employment, good relations with the royal family were imperative. With that in mind, 'I know no way to give them so good an impression, as y^{r} Gracs owning me for a friend & servant, wch I hope you'l take the first oppertunity of doing, y^{r} reputation of worth & honour is such, that it stamps a good figure on all you recomend'.[40] It is unclear to what extent Argyll lobbied on behalf of Strafford, but the friendship between the two endured for the rest of their lives. It is thus highly plausible that Argyll visited Strafford at Wentworth Castle. Two responses from Argyll to Strafford's invitations to visit Wentworth Castle survive from 1733 and 1734, although on both occasions Argyll was too busy to accept.[41] Certainly, Argyll was later commemorated at Wentworth Castle. A couple of years after Strafford's death in 1739, his son William, 2nd Earl of Strafford (1722-1791) married Argyll's daughter Anne and soon after constructed a column topped with a statue of Minerva at Wentworth Castle in honour of his father-in-law.[42]

II.

Like Cobham and Stanhope, an important element of Raby's estate building and political rise was a good marriage. His mother Isabella frequently wrote to him whilst he was in Berlin hoping that he would soon come back to England and settle down. She often highlighted

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[39] *Ibid.*, fol. 77.
[40] *Ibid.*, fol. 78.
[41] *Ibid.*, fols. 79-82.
[42] Charlesworth, 'The Wentworths: Family and Political Rivalry', p. 128.

available London townhouses for sale and lamented in the summer of 1710 that 'I wish you had noe regiment and was wel setled with a good wife at your new house in Yorkeshire.'[43] On marriage, Isabella also had much to say and advertised suitable unmarried women to her son. For example, on 14 November 1707 in the aftermath of the naval disaster off the Isles of Scilly that killed Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovell, Isabella wrote that the admiral 'has left a daughter that will be a vast fortune; pray make inq^{r} after her, his son was drownd with him'.[44] Raby eventually acquiesced to his mother's desires and, shortly after acquiring his earldom, married Anne Johnson (d. 1754) on 6 September 1711. Anne was the only child of Sir Henry Johnson (c. 1659-1719), a wealthy and landed shipbuilder, shipowner, and Tory MP for Aldeburgh.[45] In the run-up to the wedding Jonathan Swift claimed that Anne Johnson's dowry was £60,000 'ready money; besides the rest at the father's death.'[46] Sir John Habakkuk later calculated that Strafford's marriage nearly doubled his family estate income.[47]

It should be emphasised that Strafford's finances were relatively sound, meaning he was not reliant on the Johnson family fortune. As early as August 1707 he wrote to his aunt Lady Bathurst that he was looking for a country seat and had £20,000 to spend,[48] and he was able to purchase the Stainborough estate whilst still a bachelor. Furthermore, according to Strafford in letters to the Earl of Oxford in the spring of 1712 and again to the Earl of Halifax in November 1714, his marriage had not translated to 'ready money in my pocket' as his estate and his wife's fortune were entirely tied up in the marriage settlement.[49] Rather than providing an ample supply of ready money to ease his cash flow, Anne's dowry (like that of

[43] *The Wentworth Papers,* p. 118.
[44] *Ibid.,* p. 61.
[45] D. W. Hayton, 'Johnson, Sir Henry (c.1659-1719), of The Gate House, Blackwall, Mdx.; Bradenham, Bucks. and Toddington, Beds.', *HoC 1690-1715*.
[46] Swift, *Journal to Stella*, p. 272.
[47] Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System*, pp. 186-187.
[48] BL, Add MS 22221, fol. 152.
[49] *HMC Portland*, ix., pp. 327-328; *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 33.

Lucy Pitt's discussed in chapter three) was to be used to purchase estates. As Strafford's brother Peter wrote to him on 8 May 1713, the Northamptonshire estate of Sir Edward Longville was up for sale:

> There's a gentleman came to see me yesterday to tell me of the finest purchase in England, a noble seat cost above twenty thousand pounds, and will be thrown in for nothing, the whole purchase is but forty thousand pounds, and may be your half way house into Yorkshire, lying near Northampton; and he hears the mony you have with my Lady [the Countess of Strafford] is to be laid out in land.[50]

Strafford did not purchase the estate in question, purchasing another Northamptonshire 'half way house' at Boughton in July 1717 from Lord Ashburnham for a much cheaper price.[51] It is clear however from Peter Wentworth's letter that the Johnson fortune was to be invested in land. In addition, Sir Henry Johnson owned estates himself, some of which later made their way into his son-in-law's hands.

In the case of Sir Henry Johnson's estate near Aldeburgh in Suffolk, where he and his brother served as Tory MPs, Strafford inherited not just land but also an electoral interest. In an age of Whig dominance, Strafford was unable to maintain as firm a grip on Aldeburgh as his father-in-law had, with most of the borough's MPs between 1719 and mid-century being government Whigs. However, Strafford's influence was not neglible. Sir John Williams (a Tory businessman who had Strafford's backing) served as MP from 1730 to 1734, and from 1734 to 1747 one of the town's MPs was William Conolly, Strafford's Whig son-in-law.[52] Of course, Conolly's nomination may have relied just as much on the fact that he was a government supporter as it did on Strafford's patronage. Indeed, the limits of Strafford's influence in the borough are demonstrated by the unsuccessful attempt of his brother Peter to become MP for Aldeburgh after the death of one of the sitting MPs in 1731. Peter

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[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 332, 338.
[51] Strafford paid £9000 for the manor and £2150 for the house, gardens, and park, see *Ibid.*, p. 443. This seat near Northampton is not to be confused with the better-known Boughton estate belonging to the Duke of Montagu near Kettering.
[52] Romney R. Sedgwick, 'Aldeburgh', *HoC 1715-1754*.

Wentworth's strategy relied on securing Walpole's support and presenting himself as a better placed candidate than the government's preferred man, George Purvis. Peter intended to clearly articulate that it was he who had Strafford's support, for 'if we can make Sir Robert believe Purvise must loose it by having your interest against him, he will be for me.' Peter's plan failed however, and Purvis was elected to Parliament in 1732.[53]

Whilst the electoral influence they yielded was therefore somewhat limited, Strafford still had a great interest in expanding and developing the estates he received through his father-in-law's inheritance. At Friston Hall in Suffolk, Strafford became deeply preoccupied with the estate's potential such as its abundance of game. Lady Strafford was evidently less interested in her father's old estate as Strafford wrote to her pleadingly in May 1729:

> I cannot imagine my Dear why you do not like this place as well as Stainborough, for I think at this time of the year it is the garden of the world; it is true the house and gardens at Stainborough are more magnificent, though there is something very pleasant in this house, wch. is extremely well fitted up, and the gardens and the groves very delightful, besides the vast extent of land I have here, which makes it almost a principality,[54]

Despite all this, 'I can't make you like it so well as I could wish; tho' certainly we ought to live here sometimes, since it is the most improveable estate in England'. The only reason that Strafford did not take advantage of this opportunity was because 'I have so much to do in improving my other estates, I can't spare time and money to do all at once, and to trust to a steward to do it, one is sure to be cheated.'[55] Although D. R. Hainsworth highlights the importance of stewards as surrogate landlords for men busy with political and military duties, perhaps for a landowner excluded from government like Strafford by this point, a direct and hands-on approach was more desirable.[56] Strafford's interest in improvement was

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[53] *The Wentworth Papers*, pp. 471-474.
[54] Quoted in Wilkinson, *Worthies, Families, and Celebrities of Barnsley and the District*, pp. 422-423.
[55] Quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 423-424.
[56] Hainsworth, *Stewards, Lords and People*, p. 5.

also kindled at Toddington in Bedfordshire, another seat inherited from his father-in-law (and where Strafford was ultimately buried). Indeed, in April 1739 Strafford told his son William to pass on the message to Lady Strafford that he had been busy making alterations at Toddington. Strafford desired to know if his wife had any memories of the house before Sir Henry Johnson built an 'odious ugly Gallery' in it, evidently wanting to use her recollections to inform his building work.[57]

Lady Strafford and her family did not play as important a role in developing Strafford's country estates as Lady Stanhope and Governor Pitt did at Stanhope's Chevening. Surviving correspondence between Strafford and his father-in-law suggests the latter's involvement was virtually non-existent.[58] Lady Strafford's influence in matters relating to Strafford's country estates appears similarly small although, as Helen Jacobsen and Hannah Grieg have shown, she was central to the acquisition and fitting up of the couple's London townhouse in St James's Square whilst Strafford was away at The Hague.[59] Perhaps her interests were more naturally inclined to the metropolis whereas her husband clearly loved the country. Of course, there were obvious differences between Strafford and Stanhope, notably that Strafford lived to enjoy (or endure) retirement, whereas Stanhope's hectic career and sudden death in 1721 necessitated the involvement of his wife and her family in managing his estate. Furthermore, even before his retirement, Strafford actively sought to direct the construction of his new wing at Stainborough from afar. For example, whilst Strafford (then styled Lord Raby) was in Berlin in 1711, his brother Peter wrote on 6 March to acknowledge two letters he had received from Raby, one of which contained 'a Draught

[57] BL, Add MS 72713 (Supplementary Wentworth papers), fols. 63-64.
[58] Sir Henry Johnson only showed a passing interest in Stainborough in a letter dated 15 November 1716, see BL, Add MS 22221, fol. 501.
[59] For Strafford's London townhouse and Lady Strafford's role more generally, see Helen Jacobsen, 'Ambassadorial Plate of the Later Stuart Period and the Collection of the Earl of Strafford', *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 19, no. 1 (May 2007), pp. 7-11; Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp. 219-228; Greig, *The Beau Monde*, pp. 30-237 *passim*.

of what alteration you would have Mr. Bromley [an agent of Raby's in Yorkshire] in the design of your house if the prise wou'd not rise by it.'[60]

III.

It is no surprise that Strafford took such a deep interest in improvements at the estates he acquired through purchase and inheritance, as he had always shown an interest in visiting other country seats. His letters to his son contain numerous accounts of visits to houses and Strafford's views on them. For example, in December 1730, whilst visiting his Bathurst cousins in Gloucestershire, Strafford went 'to see Lord Gages houses at highmeadows a large house but ill furnished sad gardens & a disagreeable situation I Likewise saw Mr Windhams new house wch he is building… wch will be a good house but nothing Extraordinary'.[61] Strafford loved the outdoors and his eye was often caught by a particularly splendid prospect. The park and gardens at his cousin Benjamin Bathurst's seat at Lydney had 'the finest prospects in England', whilst the nearby house of one Mr Chester was 'finly situated on a hill in the midle of a Parke & has a mighty fine Prospect of the country & of the Severn'.[62] His letters to his son which discussed his own seats often reflected this interest. For example, Strafford wrote in December 1732 that creating a new garden feature at Wentworth Castle called Constantine's Well '& the new walks I have cut in old parke has taken up my whole time,' and again in March 1738: 'I took that opertunity to walk about my Galley to spy out new beautys in order to take up some trees & plan others wch I hope you will approve off'.[63]

Strafford's interest in and knowledge of other seats informed his own projects. As he wrote to his Yorkshire kinsman Sir William Wentworth of Bretton, 4th Baronet on 25

[60] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 181.
[61] BL, Add MS 72713, fol. 1.
[62] *Ibid.*, fols. 1-2.
[63] *Ibid.*, fols. 16, 58.

February 1710: 'I am going on as hard as I can drive with my building [at Stainborough] and am at last persuaded to make it of brick and stone as Hampton Court is, and which I am assured will look better than all stone… so the new front will be something like that of the Duke of Leeds at Keton [Kiveton] in our country.'[64] Raby was thus situating his building work at Stainborough not only within the context of another aristocratic Yorkshire seat like Kiveton, but also a distant royal palace like Hampton Court where Sir Christopher Wren had constructed new buildings for William III – a monarch under whom Raby had prospered and enjoyed royal favour. Admittedly, Raby was obviously not obsessed with emulating the late King's project at Hampton Court as he ultimately changed his mind and the new wing at Stainborough was just built in stone.

Strafford also obtained architectural advice from friends and relatives. This group included his cousin Allen Bathurst, 1st Baron (later Earl) Bathurst of Cirencester Park who wrote to Strafford in 1717 with advice regarding Strafford's recently acquired seat of Boughton near Northampton.[65] The Earl of Oxford's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Robert Benson (later 1st Baron Bingley), was another important source of architectural advice for Strafford. Howard Colvin notes that Benson 'had the reputation of being an authority on architectural matters',[66] and when describing various English ministers in 1710, Strafford (then Lord Raby) mentioned that Benson had travelled in Italy and was building a new house (Bramham Park) near York.[67] Both Raby's mother Isabella in April 1709 and his brother Peter in May 1711 remarked on Benson's help with regards to the new wing at Stainborough. The latter told Raby that the Duke of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Scarbrough (who he had been conversing with) 'agree there was no Building without a Survoyer, even when they agreed by

[64] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 26.
[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 443-444. Bathurst also commented on another of Strafford's secondary seats, Colston Bassett in Nottinghamshire.
[66] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., p. 120.
[67] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 133.

the great; wch agrees with the advise Mr. Benson is always desiring to send you word, you must be at the expence, wch in the main will be mony saved, for a blunder in building is not to be repaired without a great expence and lost of time and labour.'[68]

It is also evident that Strafford was keen to have his estates recorded in print and distributed. Strafford was a subscriber to Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* from the first volume (1715) onwards and Campbell inserted two plans of Stainborough along with an elevation of Strafford's new wing, commenting that 'all is agreeable to the Politeness, Quality, and Distinction of the Patron.'[69] Strafford also had an elevation of Stainborough produced in 1713 by Charles Holzendorf, secretary to the British Embassy in Berlin, as well as a view of the grounds in 1714 by Johannes Kip and Leonard Knyff, and then further views of the estate in the 1730s (fig. 4.4).[70] Strafford's desire to promote his estates was not restricted to his main seat of Wentworth Castle either. In the spring of 1732, Strafford had the draughtsman Thomas Badeslade to stay with him at Boughton and draw the estate, an engraving later appearing in the 1740 edition of *Britannia Illustrata* (fig. 4.5).[71] Strafford was greatly interesed in the drawings of other country seats that Badeslade had on hand such as Richard Edgcumbe's Mount Edgcumbe near Plymouth and Sir Basil Dixwell, 2nd Baronet's Broome Park in Kent.[72] Strafford also gave prints of his houses to friends as gifts. In April 1709, Peter Wentworth wrote that he had received five prints of his brother's house at Twickenham 'and I have distribbd them all according to order, and to all they are an

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[68] *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85, 199-200.
[69] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, i., pp. 6-7, pl. 92-94; Connor, 'The Making of "Vitruvius Britannicus", pp. 21-22.
[70] For Holzendorf's 1713 view and the two 1730s views by Thomas Badeslade, see Badeslade and Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth*, pl. *55-*56, 55-58. For Kip and Knyff's view of 1714, see Kenneth Lemmon, 'Wentworth Castle: A Forgotten Landscape', *Garden History*, vol. 3, no. 3 (Summer 1975), p. 51.
[71] Johannes Kip, *Britannia Illustrata or Views of Several of the Royal Palaces as also of the Principal Seats of the Nobility and Gentry of Great Brittain Elegantly Engraven on CII. Copper Plates. Tom II.* (London, 1740), pl. 12/82.
[72] BL, Add MS 72713, fol. 5.

acceptable present.'[73] Similarly, in 1730 Lord Berkeley of Stratton informed Strafford that he had had a picture of Wentworth Castle framed: 'My Lord your fine house is put in a frame, and I walk over your walks [i.e. in his imagination] some times till I fancy I hear the cascades. Noe place is worth any thing without wood and water; these I find Stainborow abounds in.'[74]

Strafford's motivation to have Wentworth Castle in particular extensively recorded and distributed in print must have in part derived from a desire to have what was a distant estate from London (compared to officers with their main seats in the Home Counties) experienced by his friends and peers. Wentworth Castle's isolation was noted by contemporaries, including Strafford himself. On 24 November 1732, he commented to his son how bad the road to London was in the winter and on 10 December added that 'you judge right I shall have a difficulty of leaving this place, for now the weather is dry & the ways good, I am afraid of the very sharp for it freezes here very hard'.[75] Strafford's cousin Lord Bathurst jokily complained to him in August 1717 that Wentworth Castle 'is a very fine place to talk of in town, which I have heard say is the right use of a seat in the country, and since you design'd itt for your monument, I wou'd (if itt were my case) make no other use of itt. Pardon me if I show some spleen to a place that keeps you so far from me.'[76] Of course, that is not to say that Strafford never entertained in Yorkshire. As Lord Berkeley of Stratton wrote to him from his family seat of Bruton in Somerset in 1718, 'It is well for me that I have not soe much company to entertain, as you tell me of at Stainborough, for I should not know what to do with them.'[77]

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[73] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 81. Strafford's seven-bay house in Twickenham was later known as Mount Lebanon and is depicted in a 1740 view, see 'Waterside at Twickenham'. Accessed 11 March 2019 at http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/kinggeorge/w/003ktop00000030u019z0000.html.
[74] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 461.
[75] BL, Add MS 72713, fols. 13, 15.
[76] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 443.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 446.

However, for frail friends such as Alexander Pope, Wentworth Castle's remoteness was a problem and presumably discouraged visits. Pope and Strafford both had houses in Twickenham and bonded in the mid-1720s over the widow of Sir Godfrey Kneller, 1st Baronet's controversial (and ultimately unsuccessful) scheme to build a memorial to her husband in Twickenham church, which would have involved the removal of an existing monument honouring Pope's father. Strafford's pew in the church was next to Lady Kneller's proposed monument, and Pope enlisted his help in order to fight it.[78] It is clear from Pope's letters that Strafford's seat of Boughton near Northampton was not simply a halfway house on the road from London to Yorkshire (though this was undoubtedly an important function) as Pope referred to Strafford's 'repose and elegant retirement at Boughton' in June 1725.[79] The following month, Pope announced his intention to visit soon and assist Strafford with his gardening at Boughton, remarking that he was convinced that neither the gardeners Thomas Acres or Henry Wise, 'nor any publick Professors of Gardening, (any more than any publick Professors of Virtue) are equal to the Private Practisers of it. And I will as soon travel to contemplate your Lordships works, as the Queen of Sheba did to contemplate those of Solomon.'[80] In other words, Strafford's new friend was happy to wait on him at his secondary Northamptonshire seat but evidently could not, or did not want to, make a journey all the way to Yorkshire.

Pope's relationship with Lord Cobham at Stowe has been discussed in chapter two, and the poet provided, or intended to provide, gardening schemes for other old soldiers such as the Earl of Orkney at Cliveden. Pope wrote to Orkney in October 1736 explaining that 'I shall be a good part of the winter in London, & there I can have the pleasure of planning & drawing Schemes, as well as of seeing & consulting yours, against the next

[78] *Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ii., pp. 300-328 *passim*.
[79] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 300.
[80] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 309.

Planting Season.'[81] After the mid-1720s, surviving correspondence between Strafford and Pope dries up. It therefore appears unlikely that they enjoyed as intimate a friendship as Pope had with some of his other soldier-correspondents such as the quixotic Charles Mordaunt, 3rd Earl of Peterborough and 1st Earl of Monmouth (c. 1658-1735). Peterborough had served as commander-in-chief in Spain from 1705 to 1707 and in his last years found solace at his villa at Bevis Mount near Southampton which he probably acquired around 1730 and where Pope was a frequent visitor.[82]

IV.

Strafford had a holistic view of his constellation of estates and what they were for. Much like other officers such as Stanhope who sought to build an estate to leave to posterity, Strafford had a strong dynastic conception of his estates and evaluated them in light of how they would service his beloved son and heir, William. For example, in January 1734 Strafford wrote to his son of the fruitful environs of Friston Hall. The surrounding Suffolk countryside 'is the finest country for sports you ever saw & here you may hunt without a leap & vast quantity of Patridges & Pheasants'. Furthermore, 'when you are marriade this is to be your seat I am now imploying my time & laying out my mony to make it compleat for you for believe me my dear son you are the sole object of my views, & making you happy will be the most agreable thing to your truly affectionate father'.[83] In other words, Strafford was envisioning a future where he was still alive so his grown-up and married son would need another seat to call his own. However, as Strafford died in 1739 when William was still an adolescent this was never necessary.

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[81] *Ibid.*, iv., p. 35.

[82] For Pope's relationship with Peterborough, see Morris R. Brownell, *Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 216-219; Peter Martin, *Pursuing Innocent Pleasures: The Gardening World of Alexander Pope* (Hamden, 1984), pp. 176-206. For Peterborough's gardens at Bevis Mount, see Defoe and Richardson, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain,* 3rd edn., i., pp. 204-205.

[83] BL, Add MS 72713, fol. 26.

On New Year's Day 1736, Strafford went further and detailed to his son the purposes of the various estates belonging to the family and how they should be dealt with after Strafford's death. After contemplating that a small park could be made at Friston Hall 'for tho the Parke would be little, yet all the country about it would be a Parke, here is vast quantity of Game about us… & it would make the finest hunting in chrisendome, & I am sure it would please you beyond any thing;' Strafford launched into a grand overview:

> I would wish to leave you only Wentworth Castle, to be at an eligant seat in the middle of summer, to take care of your northern estate, & then towards the autume, Tudington, to invite your friends too, that would not care for stirring more then a days Journy from London, & Friston for your hunting, coursing, & shooting, till the dead of winter when bussines calld you to town, I would sell Twickhenham, Boughton, Colston Basset, & lay them in great Estates, to one of your three seats, wch have great, & differant Bautys in their kind; for this [Friston]; tho it is by much the worst house, yet the pleasure of country sports surpasses them all, & the continual goodnes of the road, winter or summer is beyond any thing I know any where[84]

Strafford's country estates, based on location and environment, thus had specific roles. However, Strafford seems to have felt rather encumbered by the extent of his portfolio by the end of his life, hence his advice to his son to reduce his number of estates in order to free up capital to invest in the remaining ones. For instance, Strafford may have thought his inheritance of substantial estates from his father-in-law Sir Henry Johnson rendered some of his own estate purchases such as Boughton and Colston Bassett superfluous. However, Wentworth Castle, that 'eligant seat in the middle of summer,' was to remain the jewel in the crown.

In an age of the strict settlement and the heirs to great estates being treated like life tenants,[85] it is unsurprising that Strafford, keen to cement his legacy at Wentworth Castle,

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[84] *Ibid.*, fol. 49. To recap, Strafford is referring to the following: Wentworth Castle, then Stainborough Hall, Yorkshire was bought in 1708. Toddington, Bedfordshire and Friston, Suffolk were inherited from Strafford's father-in-law who died in 1719. Strafford had owned property in Twickenham since the beginning of the century. Boughton, Northamptonshire was purchased in 1717, and Colston Bassett, Nottinghamshire in 1714.

[85] Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman*, p. 64. For a full explanation of the strict settlement, see Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System*, pp. 1-76.

tried to enforce various limitations concerning the estate in his will written in 1732. For example, Strafford sought to preserve the material fabric of the house – his son William was forbidden from 'pulling down my Capital house or Seat commonly called Wentworth Castle alias Stainborough'. William was also restricted in what trees he could cut down in the park, Strafford wishing 'to preserve the Wood and Groves in my Gardens and planted Walks about my said house'.[86] Similarly, if William should die and Wentworth Castle end up in the hands of one of Strafford's daughters, Strafford demanded that their husband take up the surname Wentworth and that they would reside in Wentworth Castle for three months every year and keep it in good repair.[87] To what extent William paid much attention to his father's advice is another matter. Despite Strafford's recommendation to sell his estates at Twickenham, Boughton, and Colston Bassett, William retained all three.

It was not only estate advice that Strafford was keen to pass down to his son but also an unblemished political reputation. Earlier in his New Year's Day 1736 letter he reflected that 'the highth of my ambition is at an end, I have led a glorious course of Life, & in so many years I have lived, it is a great happines, that during the many imployments I have gon through, no body can reproch me (even my worse ennemys) with any dishonest, or dishonorable action'.[88] In light of the fact that accusations of dishonourable action had formed an important part of the 1715/16 impeachment proceedings against Strafford for high crimes and misdemeanours following his role at the peace negotiations at Utrecht, this comment to his adolescent son comes across as almost defensive. Strafford was accused by the Commons as having acted beyond his diplomatic authority and abandoning Britain's

[86] TNA, PROB 11/699/422, fol. 393.
[87] *Ibid.*, fols. 395-396.
[88] BL, Add MS 72713, fol. 47.

allies, culminating the 'separate, dishonourable, and destructive negociation of peace' with France.[89] Strafford flatly denied all these allegations and indignantly replied that he

> was not without hopes, having spent the best and greatest part of his life abroad in the army, and in several embassies, always endeavouring to promote the welfare of his country, that he might, at his return, have met with its approbation, as a recompence for his long and faithful services: however, he comforts himself with this reflection, that every step of his proceedings in the late negociation was laid before her majesty and received her royal approbation:[90]

Whatever his public statements, Strafford also found the whole ordeal deeply embarrasing. An undated letter to Strafford from James Stuart, 2nd Earl of Bute (d. 1723) after the Hanoverian Succession reveals that Strafford had sought architectural advice from Bute and sent plans and a print of his houses at Stainborough and Twickenham. As Bute noted, the bottom of the print bore an inscription 'containing the many great offices your Lop: so honorably obtain'd and so deservedly bore' which 'would rather afford me an agreeable reflectione then the mortifying one you Suggest'. On a previous occasion, Strafford must have expressed to Bute his intense embarrassment at the inscription presumably because it would remind people of his political fall. In this context, Bute's comment that 'I should view a fall with pleasur, and learn that true merit [like Strafford's] may be out of place, but never in disgrace' should be read in the sense that he was trying to comfort Strafford.[91]

Whilst the impeachment proceedings were eventually dropped, Strafford's continuing resentment over his perceived ill-treatment is evidenced by a particularly bitter remark he made in 1726. As the Tory Dr William Stratford reported, the Whig 2nd Earl of Scarbrough had made compliments in the House of Lords 'to Lord Strafford upon the treaty of Utrecht. Strafford said he was glad to receive those compliments, but there had been a

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[89] *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, eds. T. B. Howell, T. J. Howell, William Cobbett, and David Jardine (34 vols., London, 1809-1828), xv., p. 1018.
[90] *Ibid.*, xv., p. 1043.
[91] BL, Add MS 31141, fol. 138.

time [a decade previously] when he and all concerned with him in that treaty had wanted these compliments.'[92] Bitterness gave way to pride in his will written in 1732. Requesting that his coffin have 'my Coat of arms deeply Engraved upon it or Embassed and under it the Titles I bore at the death of Queen Anne', Strafford also wanted the inscription to record

> that I was impeached the First Parliament of King George the First for Serving that Great and Good Queen and the Nation in the Peace at Utrecht that puting in my Answer Article by Article [Parliament] dropt the Impeachment since which time I lived a private Life keeping up the Dignity of my Family and constantly attending the Service of my Country in Parliament and doing it in opposition to the Ministry with the same resolution during the time the Impeachment was depending as afterwards[93]

Strafford invited his family to erect a monument expressing these sentiments in the castle folly built in the grounds of Wentworth Castle around 1730. A statue of Strafford as a Roman general complete with an inscription detailing his achievements was duly erected there by his son in the 1740s.[94]

From an iconographic perspective, Patrick Eyres has emphasised the extent to which Wentworth Castle's ornamentation symbolised the defence of Strafford's conduct during the peace negotiations. For example, the plasterwork allegory of Peace conquering War featuring large medallions of Perseus and Fame on the Italian Staircase (executed between 1729 and 1731 by Francesco Vassalli and Martino Quadri probably to the design of James Gibbs), alludes to the classical myth of Perseus being equipped by Minerva to slay the monstrous Medusa. Eyres argues that this was central to Wentworth Castle's symbolism and should, in the visitor's mind, 'create associations between classical antiquity and British modernity: between the empowering patrons, Minerva and Queen Anne; between the warrior-peacemakers, Perseus and Strafford; between the destructive forces overcome to

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[92] *HMC Portland*, vii., p. 424.
[93] TNA, PROB 11/699/422, fol. 392.
[94] Michael Charlesworth, 'The Imaginative Dimension of an Early Eighteenth-Century Garden: Wentworth Castle', *Art History*, vol. 28, no. 5 (November 2005), pp. 639-640; Eyres, 'Lord Raby's Embassies and Their Representation at Wentworth Castle', p. 43.

create peace, the Gorgon Medusa and the War of Spanish Succession.' Therefore, 'Strafford's public iconography was clearly a triumphant celebration of the late and Protestant Stuart Anne and his own achievements in her service.'[95] However, whilst Eyres might refer to this as 'public iconography', it does seem that Strafford was determined to grapple with his problematic political downfall in personal spaces or texts – be that his country house or his will. There is no evidence that Strafford sought to publish a defence of his conduct in the public press and perhaps he was therefore more concerned with justifying himself to family and friends rather than the wider British public.

Strafford's obsession with honour and defending his past conduct should also be considered within the context of the excessive pride and vanity for which he was known for amongst contemporaries. For example, Jonathan Swift described Strafford 'as proud as hell' on one occasion and 'infinitely proud, & wholly illiterate' on another,[96] and Marlborough thought him a coxcomb.[97] Strafford was particularly concerned about issues of ceremony, personal display, and his own social status.[98] As his fellow plenipotentiary at The Hague, the Bishop of Bristol, wrote to the Earl of Oxford in December 1712, Strafford was 'very uneasy' after becoming a Knight of the Order of Garter as 'The disadvantage is, that the favour of wearing the [Garter] Star on his upper garment before instalment, which has been allowed to some others in the same case he is in, has not been granted at his request.'[99] Even if she was joking, there was probably some truth in Lady Strafford's words to her husband the

[95] Patrick Eyres, 'Jacobite Anticipations: Lord Strafford, Wentworth Castle and Dissident Political Gardening', in Patrick Eyres (ed.), *Wentworth Castle and Georgian Political Gardening: Jacobites, Tories and Dissident Whigs* (Stainborough, 2012), pp. 96-98.
[96] Swift, *Journal to Stella*, pp. 328, 389.
[97] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, iii., p. 1259.
[98] Jacobsen, 'Ambassadorial Plate of the Later Stuart Period and the Collection of the Earl of Strafford', p. 7.
[99] *HMC Portland*, ix., p. 353.

following January that 'I own to you I find your honour so very vain concerning your own person that there is no danger of your falling in love with anybody but your self'.[100]

v.

Strafford's career never recovered from the decline of his political fortunes after the Hanoverian Succession which resulted in him losing all his offices and his regiment of dragoons, although he lived for another twenty-five years after George I's accession. It is common for historians who have studied Strafford during his political zenith in the latter part of Anne's reign (such as Helen Jacobsen and Hannah Greig) to largely discount him as a subject of historical enquiry following his political fall.[101] However, whilst it is true that Strafford never recovered office, he continued to maintain an active interest in politics and to play a role in public affairs. For instance, in March 1735 he spoke out against the government's motion to set the size of the standing army at 25,000 men, unsuccessfully setting forth his own proposal that the army should instead stand at 18,000 men. As Lord Hervey witheringly recounted:

> Lord Strafford, a loquacious, rich, illiterate, cold, tedious, constant haranguer in the House of Lords, who neither spoke sense nor English, and always gave an anniversary declamation on this subject, went upon the trite topic of the danger of standing armies to a free state, and knew as little how to adapt his arguments to the particular circumstances, or the times, or the particular temper of his audience, as he did how to give a proper pronunciation to the few words he was master of, or proper words to the few things that came within the narrow limits of his Lordship's knowledge.[102]

Setting aside Hervey's partisan putdowns, his reference to Strafford's declamations being 'anniversary' and that he was a 'constant haranguer' in the Lords suggests that Strafford regularly contributed to parliamentary affairs, as he himself claimed in his will.[103]

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[100] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 313.
[101] Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p. 230; Greig, *The Beau Monde*, pp. 38-39, 196-197.
[102] Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, ii., p. 435.
[103] TNA, PROB 11/699/422, fol. 392.

This quotation from Hervey illustrates the nature of some of Strafford's oppositional political activity in his later years. So too does his clandestine dabbling with the Jacobite cause and correspondence with the Stuart pretender 'James III' who appointed him commander-in-chief of all forces north of the Humber and Duke of Strafford in the Jacobite peerage in 1722.[104] Strafford associated with other Tory peers holding similar views such as John Boyle, 5th Earl of Orrery who wrote to Strafford from Ireland in April 1737 that 'The idea of those [parliamentary] Battles in which I have had the honour to fight on the same Side with your L^{p} give me fresh Spirits, and I am impatient once more for the Combat'. Orrery then reprimanded Strafford for going 'to the House of Lords at my Request when your Health requir'd your Stay at Home. For God's Sake, my Lord, lay me not under such kind of Obligations, since no conquest can give me Joy wherein You receive a Wound.'[105]

Much of the recent research on Strafford's work at Wentworth Castle has concentrated on this Jacobite angle. For example, Michael Charlesworth has argued that the obelisk constructed in the grounds of Wentworth Castle in 1733-34 to commemorate Queen Anne was loaded with hidden meaning. The obelisk's inscription, Charlesworth contends, was deliberately vague in its declaration that Strafford, after Anne's death, 'was one of the seven appointed by act/ of PARLIAMENT to be REGENTS of the/ KINGDOME during the absence of the/ SUCCESSOR'. The term 'SUCCESSOR' was an imprecise and woolly term just as applicable to James Stuart as George I. Strafford, though seeking to be subtle, wished to leave a physical monument commemorating his Jacobite flirtations as he 'wanted to be

[104] Melville de Massue de Ruvigny Marquis of Ruvigny and Raineval, *The Jacobite Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and Grants of Honour* (Edinburgh and London, 1904), pp. 170-171. Strafford was also involved in the Jacobite Atterbury plot of the early 1720s. For Strafford's association with Bishop Atterbury following the Hanoverian Succession, see G. V. Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 192-254 *passim*.

[105] *The Orrery Papers*, ed. Emily Charlotte Boyle Countess of Cork and Orrery (2 vols., London, 1903), i., p. 217.

remembered as an actor in, as well as a witness of, his times.'[106] Patrick Eyres argues that the supposedly Jacobite subtext of this obelisk was being referred to in one letter from Strafford to his son in April 1738. Strafford had just been visited by a group which included his ennobled Watson-Wentworth neighbour, the Earl of Malton. His comment that 'I drove them [in a phaeton] quick by my obilisk & as they did not aske to read the inscription I did not seem to offer to mind it'[107] is interpreted by Eyres as a form of embarrassment: 'Strafford clearly appreciated that this text would hardly have offered a convivial conversation piece for the staunch Whig Malton.'[108]

Similarly, Charlesworth has argued that the castle folly Strafford constructed in the grounds of Wentworth Castle around 1730 had a Jacobite dimension in addition to its more obvious dynastic one (the folly's towers were named after Strafford's four children). A friend wrote to Strafford after visiting his Yorkshire estate in 1732 that 'I delight in the Situation & building of the Castle [the new folly] tho tis neither Egyptian or Grecian but of a more proper Order the Saxon'.[109] Anglo-Saxon studies in the early eighteenth-century were dominated by Jacobite and nonjuring scholars such as George Hickes. By the time Strafford was constructing his castle folly, their studies of Anglo-Saxon civilisation had imbued it with a number of Jacobitic cultural values such as a closely linked church and state and a revered native monarchy. In this line of thought, Charlesworth suggests the building of the castle folly was not simply due to aesthetic considerations, but also 'influenced by the significance Anglo-Saxon civilisation had for people and ideas close to his [Strafford's] political heart'.[110]

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[106] Charlesworth, 'The Imaginative Dimension of an Early Eighteenth-Century Garden', pp. 630-631, 634-636.
[107] BL, Add MS 72713, fol. 60.
[108] Eyres, 'Jacobite Anticipations', p. 100.
[109] BL, Add MS 22221, fol. 417.
[110] Charlesworth, 'The Imaginative Dimension of an Early Eighteenth-Century Garden', pp. 636-638; Michael Charlesworth, 'Lord Strafford's Need for a Past and British National Identity', in Patrick Eyres (ed.), *Wentworth Castle and Georgian Political Gardening: Jacobites, Tories and Dissident Whigs* (Stainborough, 2012), pp. 56-60, 65-66.

These iconographic readings by art and architectural historians are by their very nature subjective historical interpretations rather than objective truths. One could question for instance whether Strafford's 'Jacobite' obelisk was a sincere political statement or simply a bit of a joke based on a deliberately vague choice of words. Furthermore, to pigeonhole Strafford as a Jacobite Tory would be wrong, and there were various ways in which he was linked to the Hanoverian dynasty. One of the charges against Strafford during the 1715/16 impeachment proceedings was that he had sought to create a divide between Queen Anne and the House of Hanover. Strafford vigorously denied this, claiming that 'to his great honour, he hath frequently received from her late electoral highness the princess Sophia, and from his present majesty, their approbation of his zeal for their service'.[111] Furthermore, at this time an anonymous defence of Strafford appeared which amongst other things claimed that 'The late Electress of Hanover, mother to his present majesty, had a most particular affection for him, which is sufficiently known by all that ever heard her speak of him'.[112] Certainly, Strafford, then Lord Raby, corresponded on numerous occasions with the Electress. He consoled her in 1705 on the death of her daughter, Queen in Prussia Sophia Charlotte, and in 1773 Lady Mary Coke referred to being lent a book containing letters between Raby and the Electress.[113] On occasion, Strafford could even be accused of fraternising with the Hanoverians at the expense of Anne. In his quest to obtain the Strafford earldom, Raby had written to Elector George himself in the spring of 1708, asking for some form of assistance in securing the title. This apparently greatly upset Anne when she saw a copy of Raby's letter, and Godolphin subsequently wrote to Marlborough in July that 'I really

[111] *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials*, xv., pp. 1032-1034.
[112] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 34.
[113] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16; Lady Mary Coke, *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke* (4 vols., Edinburgh, 1889-1896), iv., pp. 170, 172, 218.

think 42 [the Queen] would have been willing to gratify him in his request [for the Strafford earldom]' had it not been for his approach to the Elector.[114]

Strafford and his brother Peter also trumpeted his perceived favour with George I shortly after the death of Queen Anne. Congratulating his brother on 17 August 1714 for receiving 'a gracious letter' from the new king, Peter wrote a few days later that he had been spreading the word about the letter 'wch has had this good effect that it has stopt the impertinence of a great many mouths that were ready to be open'd against all they suppose were going out of favour'.[115] Whilst rumours continued to circulate that Strafford's letter from George I was actually very brusque, Peter wrote on 17 September that the Whig Major-General George Wade 'had taken pains to undeceive a great many wch he can very well do, for you did him the Honour and favour to show him the King's answere, wch was in as obliging terms as a sovereign cou'd writ to a subject and contain'd a full sheet of paper.'[116] The King's apparently gracious words can be explained by the fact that, at the beginning of his reign, George I tried to maintain a degree of political balance in his ministry and army. However, events such as the Jacobite turmoil of 1715 led to his government taking a much more Whiggish turn and the dismissal from the army of officers with Tory affiliations such as Lieutenant-General John Richmond Webb.[117] Like Webb, Strafford also clung onto his regiment until 1715, although he had been dismissed from his ministerial and diplomatic positions the previous autumn. The swift loss of these offices is unsurprising. Not only was Strafford a Tory general, but he had also been intimately involved with the controversial peace negotiations at Utrecht which helps explain why it did not take long for his credit with George I to dissipate.

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[114] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ii., pp. 979, 1046.
[115] *The Wentworth Papers*, pp. 413-414.
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 418.
[117] Smith, 'The Hanoverian Succession and the Politicisation of the British Army', pp. 222-223.

Although out of office for the remainder of his life, Strafford continued to view his relationship with the Hanoverian royal family as important. One case study relating to Strafford's building work at Wentworth Castle illustrates this vividly. On 26 June 1730 Strafford wrote to 'Lady C. Rougie'. 'Rougie' was Lady Charlotte de Roucy (c. 1653-1743), a Huguenot who, according to Lord Hervey, was 'of great quality, and not in great circumstances, [who] had, during four reigns, subsisted upon the scanty charity of the English Court', and along with her brother Lord Lifford was a constant companion to the King and Queen. De Roucy however held no official position in Queen Caroline's household and Hervey claimed that the Queen only tolerated the siblings' dreary company due to George II's fondness for them.[118] De Roucy appears in Lady Strafford and Peter Wentworth's descriptions of court life and this might be how she came to Strafford's attention. Indeed, the fact that he butchered the spelling of her name might suggest that he barely knew her (or perhaps it confirms his 'illiteracy' alluded to by Swift and Hervey).[119]

De Roucy was also sister to Henrietta de Roye de la Rochefoucald who was the second wife of William, 2nd Earl of Strafford from whom Strafford had inherited the barony of Raby, but not the Wentworth estates, in 1695. Strafford included three plans and a description of Wentworth Castle in his letter not only for de Roucy but also for her sister the dowager countess, 'who lived so Long at Wentworth Woodhouse wch is but four miles from this Place, & if she ever visited her neighbour the lady Cuttler of whose son I baught the Estate, she must be surprised at the alterations I have made since I have had it'.[120] Whilst ostensibly trying to amuse, Strafford was probably relishing the opportunity to show off his estate-building success to the widow of the man who had declined to leave him the family

[118] Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, i., pp. 252-253. De Roucy's name is absent from 'Household of Queen Caroline 1727-37'. Accessed 25 February 2017 at http://www.history.ac.uk/publications/office/queencaroline.
[119] *The Wentworth Papers*, pp. 458, 460.
[120] BL, Add MS 31140, fols. 291-292.

estates. It was not only de Roucy and her sister Strafford sought to impress, but also the Queen:

> As the King has formerly & the Queen has lately inquired about my Place in Yorkshire, & as her Ma^{ty} has a tast to building & Gardening, I take the liberty to send you three plans with a description of the Place taken last year very exactly desiring your Ladyship will take an opertunity of Presenting them to her Majesty who at her Leasure hours at Windsore may cast her eye upon them & as the front of the building is reckond as fine for its bignes as any in England[121]

Strafford thought Caroline would be particularly interested in the wing he had built at Wentworth Castle as 'the design came from Germany; for two architects her Ma^{ty} remembers very well Joynd to give me the design' during his time as British ambassador in Berlin. These two architects 'were Mon^{r} Bott & Mon^{r} Eosander who built & beautifyd the Kings Palace at Berlin & Mon^{r} Bott designd & built the arsinall at Berlin reckond the finest in Germany as Monsieur Eosander imbellishd the Castle at Berlin.'[122]

Both men were from military backgrounds. Jean de Bodt (or Johann von Bodt) was a French Huguenot who had started his career as a military engineer in Dutch service. Following the 1688-9 Revolution, he served in the armies of William III in Ireland and Flanders, attaining the rank of captain of artillery in the Royal Engineers, until he resigned in 1699 to become a court architect in Berlin. There he worked on military, such as the arsenal mentioned in Strafford's letter, as well as civil buildings. He died holding the rank of general in Saxon service.[123] Johann Friedrich Eosander was a German architect from Swedish Pomerania who, whilst in Swedish service, had been involved in the surveying of fortresses (a *Festungskondukteur*) at Stettin before being appointed a court architect in Berlin in 1699.

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[121] *Ibid.*, fol. 291. Queen Caroline was particularly interested in gardening and led major projects at Kensington Palace and Richmond Lodge, see Wolf Burchard, 'Houses, Palaces and Gardens: The First Georgians and Architecture', in Desmond-Shawne Taylor (ed.), *The First Georgians: Art & Monarchy 1714-1760* (London, 2014), pp. 64-65, 72-73.
[122] BL, Add MS 31140, fol. 291.
[123] Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., p. 135. Also see Nikolaus Pevsner, 'John Bodt in England', *The Architectural Review*, vol. 130 (July 1961), pp. 29-34; John Harris, 'Bodt and Stainborough', *The Architectural Review*, vol. 130 (July 1961), pp. 34-35.

He later defected to the Swedish, and after that Saxon, military.[124] From an architectural history perspective, this letter to Charlotte de Roucy shows how heavily Strafford was influenced by Prussian architects and architecture. For example, Alfred P. Hagemann argues that Strafford's new wing at Wentworth Castle was strikingly similar to Eosander's design for the garden front at the Charlottenburg Palace (executed 1701-1705), and compares Wentworth Castle's gallery (executed by James Gibbs in 1724) to the picture gallery Eosander created in the Berlin Schloss in 1710. Likewise, Michael Charlesworth stresses the connection between the Oranienburg Palace's main staircase and the Italian staircase at Wentworth Castle which both featured imagery associated with the Order of the Garter that Frederick I and Strafford became members of.[125] Patrick Eyres concludes that Strafford sought to highlight his role as the first British ambassador to the recently created Kingdom of Prussia by patronising two Prussian court architects. He was thus commemorating his own diplomatic service, being keen to show this off to Queen Caroline even as late as 1730.[126]

Moreover, this was not the first time that Strafford and Queen Caroline had (indirectly) corresponded. Back in 1719, Princess Caroline's chamberlain, the Earl of Grantham, had written to Strafford to express the Princess's civilities and desire 'only that you will give leave to have your picture of the Queen of Prussia [Sophia Charlotte of Hanover], mother to the present King of Prussia, to be coppy'd. if your L^{sp} goes out of town you will please to lave ordres with your servants, & all imaginable care shall be taken of the picture.'[127] After the death of her parents when she was a child, Caroline had grown up in

[124] Robert Dohme, 'Eosander Freiherr Göthe, Johann Friedrich', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie 9* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 412-413; Roswitha Beyer, 'Eosander Freiherr Göthe, Johann Friedrich', *Neue Deutsche Biographie 4* (Berlin, 1959), p. 545.
[125] Alfred P. Hagemann, 'Lord Raby and the Cultural Milieu of the Berlin Court of Frederick I', in Patrick Eyres and James Lomax (eds.), *Diplomats, Goldsmiths and Baroque Court Culture: Lord Raby in Berlin, The Hague and Wentworth Castle* (Stainborough, 2014), pp. 17-18; Michael Charlesworth, 'Lord Raby in Berlin: Architecture, Art and Amour', in Patrick Eyres and James Lomax (eds.), *Diplomats, Goldsmiths and Baroque Court Culture: Lord Raby in Berlin, The Hague and Wentworth Castle* (Stainborough, 2014), pp. 28-30.
[126] Eyres, 'Jacobite Anticipations', p. 94.
[127] BL, Add MS 31141, fol. 252.

Berlin with the Elector and Electress of Brandenburg (King and Queen in Prussia from 1701) acting as her guardians, and she was particularly close to Queen Sophia Charlotte.[128] It is unknown whether Strafford, then Lord Raby, met the young Caroline whilst he was in Berlin before Caroline moved to Hanover in 1705 to marry the future George II, but considering his closeness to the Prussian court it seems highly plausible. Therefore, whatever Strafford's political connotations, he was always going to appeal to Caroline as one of very few English nobles who knew Berlin well. Certainly, Caroline always showed affection towards Strafford's family. His brother Peter, who had been an equerry at court for decades, was one of Caroline's equerries from 1727 until her death in 1737.[129] In 1729, Peter wrote to Strafford of the 'daily honours and favours heaped upon me, but no mony yet' by 'the Glorious Royal Family' including being made Secretary to the Queen.[130] Similarly, Lady Strafford mixed in courtly circles. At Kensington with a friend in May 1729, 'The Queen came up directly to us and talked to us both a good deal and seemed in very good humoure.' A few days later Strafford's young son William wrote: 'To day and yesterday she [Lady Strafford] walk'd with the Queen and was ready to drop down she wass so weary.'[131]

Strafford was keenly aware of the possibility that advertising his house to the monarchy could result in a royal visit. In his 1730 letter to Charlotte de Roucy, Strafford hoped that should the plans of Wentworth Castle 'meet with her Majestys aprobation I shall be fully recompenced for my trouble & expence hoping sometime or other her Ma^{ty} or the King or one of the Princis her sons may take a Progres to see the Country & tho yorkshire is so far off it is not one of the least beautifull Provinces in England'.[132] This was not merely a polite, but meaningless, gesture. The following year there were very real rumours that

[128] Stephen Taylor, 'Caroline [Princess Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach] (1683–1737)', *ODNB*.
[129] 'Household of Queen Caroline 1727-37'. Accessed 25 February 2017 at http://www.history.ac.uk/publications/office/queencaroline.
[130] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 459.
[131] *Ibid.*, pp. 458-459.
[132] BL, Add MS 31140, fol. 291.

George II was to take a progress north in order to attend the York Races, although in the end this progress never materialised. Strafford anxiously corresponded with his brother Peter about whether the King was going to make the trip, and whether Strafford should invite him to Wentworth Castle. Navigating the old family rivalry with the Watson-Wentworths played a key role in the plan which Peter outlined on 17 July 1731:

> I believe you may safely invite him to come to your house, without puting yourself to any charge. You are well with Lord Scarborough [the Master of the Horse], if you writ to him to invite the King from you wou'd have a civill answere to be sure, if he does not come; and if he does, and cares for coming to Wentworth Castle it may be the occation of excusing himself to Lord Malton [at Wentworth Woodhouse], to whose house I think it wou'd not be creditable for you to meet the King.

Peter concluded that the Queen would like George II to 'be invited by more people then he can go to, and you have done the civil thing, which one time or another I hope will turn to your advantage.'[133] In other words, this was not simply about display but also ingratiating oneself with the court through hospitality in the same way that officers such as Orkney did as illustrated in chapter two.

Strafford provides a valuable contrast to the predominantly Whig officers discussed in this thesis whose careers flourished after the Hanoverian Succession – often securing new (or restoring old) offices and appointments in the process. By examining Strafford over an extended period of time — both during the years of his ministerial career as well as his enforced retirement after the Hanoverian Succession, a range of themes can be drawn out. Although increasingly preoccupied by his diplomatic duties during Anne's reign, Strafford's relationships with officers from his army days remained of much importance. These ranged from his attempts to acquire social and political advancement from Marlborough, using his old comrade Cadogan as an important conduit, to his desperate efforts to rekindle ties with Stanhope during his impeachment proceedings. It has also been shown how Strafford

[133] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 467. Ching-Jung Chen argues that the ongoing rivalry between Wentworth Castle and Wentworth Woodhouse spurred both families' commissioning of conversation pieces around this time, see Chen, 'Portraying Politeness', pp. 209-210.

viewed and used his assortment of estates (some of which were acquired through his advantageous marriage with Anne Johnson) and how he sought architectural advice from both his peers and connoisseurs such as Alexander Pope. How Strafford tried to advise his son and heir William on how best to manage his legacy is another crucial theme that emerges in this study. This legacy was a problematic one due to Strafford's impeachment and the defence of his conduct formed an important part of his self-fashioning after the Hanoverian Succession. Finally, it has been shown that there were a number of links between this Tory former soldier-diplomat and the Hanoverian monarchy, and it is evident that Strafford considered good relations with the court to be important long after his active career was over. Wentworth Castle, his most prized country seat bought in 1708 largely as an act of defiance towards his relatives at nearby Wentworth Woodhouse, played an important role in facilitating these themes – from his hope that his Stainborough purchase would make his estate large enough to support an earldom to, decades later, the plans of Wentworth Castle sent to please and entertain Queen Caroline.



Figure 4.1 Paul Carl Leygebe, *Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford*, 1711.



Figure 4.2 Charles d'Agar, *Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford*, c. 1712.

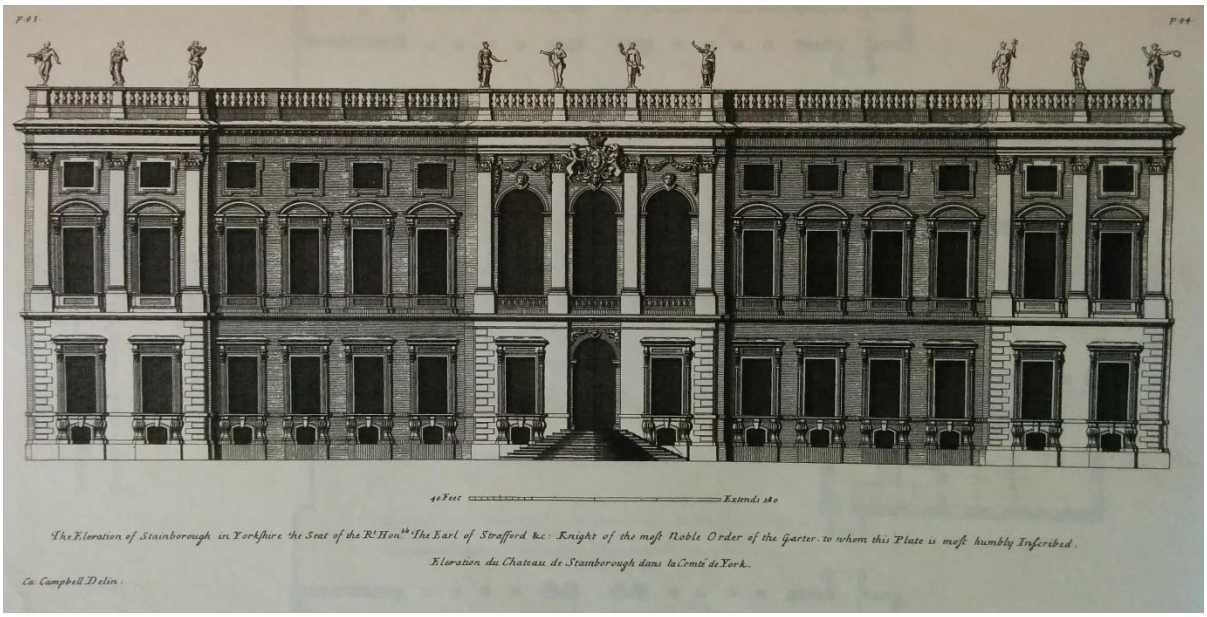

Figure 4.3 Colen Campbell, *The Elevation of Stainborough in Yorkshire the Seat of the Rt Honble The Earl of Strafford… to whom this Plate is most humbly Inscribed*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), i., pl. 93-94.

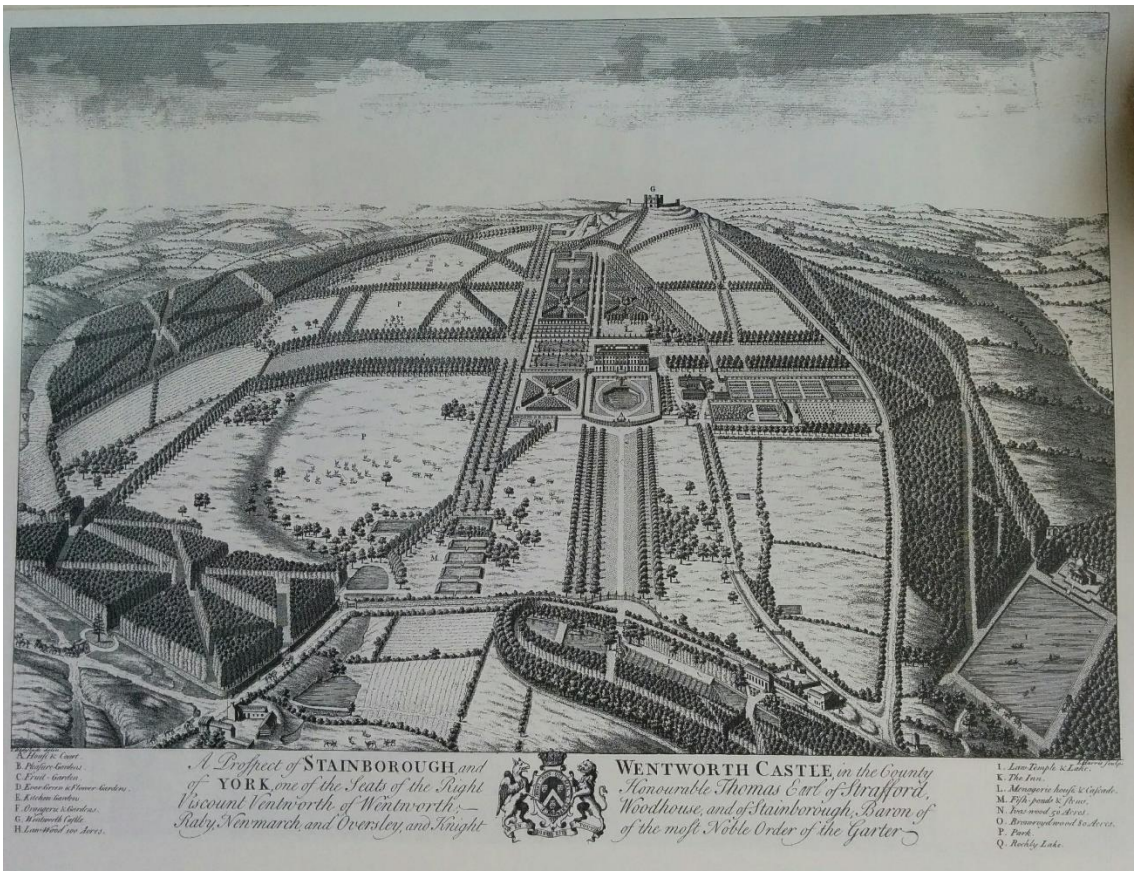

Figure 4.4 Thomas Badeslade, *A Prospect of Stainborough and Wentworth Castle in the County of York, one of the Seats of the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Strafford*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth* (London, 1739), pl. 55-56.

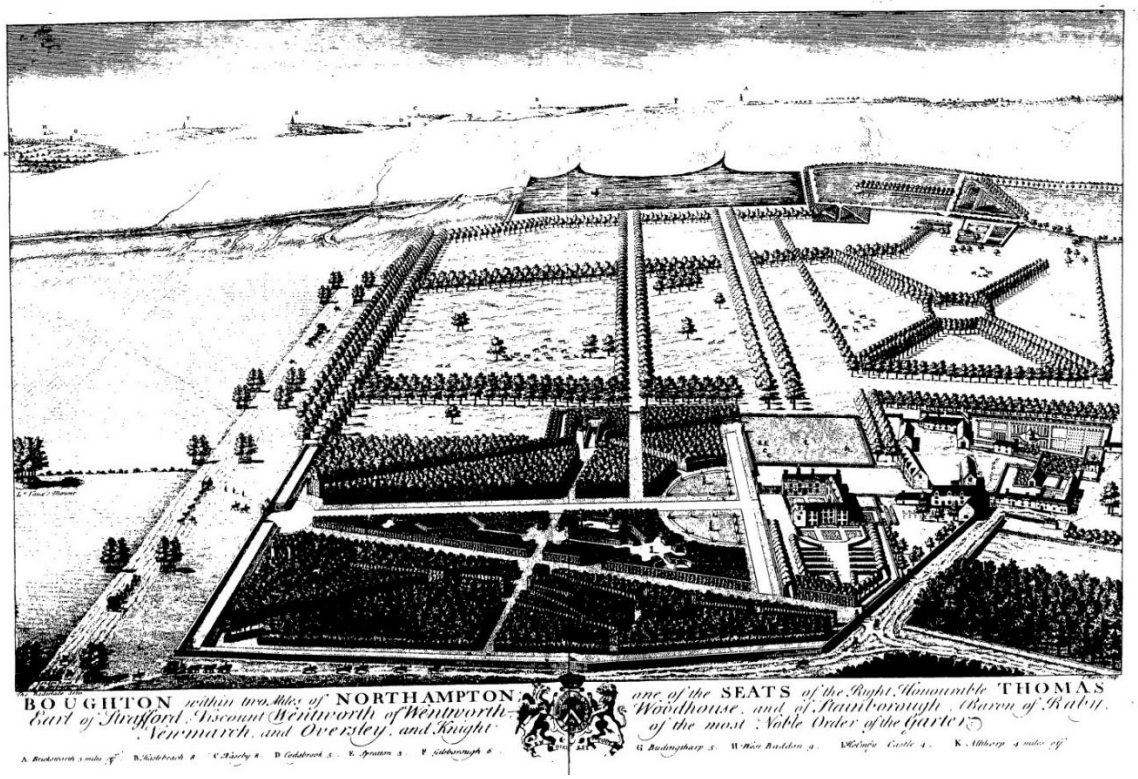

Figure 4.5 Thomas Badeslade, *Boughton within two Miles of Northampton; one of the Seats of the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Strafford*, in *Britannia Illustrata* (London, 1740), pl. 12/82.

Chapter Five – A Scottish Perspective:

The Duke of Argyll and the Earls of Orkney and Stair

The Nine Years' War and the War of Spanish Succession, the latter punctuated by the Act of Union in 1707, saw many Scots play important roles in the British army. Indeed, as historians such as Christopher Storrs, Julian Goodare, and John Childs have pointed out, a united British army was beginning to emerge even before the official union of parliaments. For example, famous 'Scottish' regiments like the Royal Scots were actually regiments in the English army. This new British army proved a popular career path for both younger sons of Scottish noble families as well as, in some cases, the eldest. Most of these soldier-peers supported the Union, as did other Scottish military officers, appreciating that it would bring greater opportunities for their careers as well as improve national security. Admittedly, for some Scottish officers such as those who were government placemen in the Scottish Parliament, support for the Union was necessitated by their dependence on government patronage. However, for those better placed, the Union was an opportunity to secure promotion and obtain other favours from the Crown in return for their support.[1] Three examples of such high-profile aristocratic senior officers are to be main subjects of this chapter.

Born in England, John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll and 1st Duke of Greenwich (1680-1743) (figs. 5.1 and 5.2) was the eldest son of the 1st Duke of Argyll (d. 1703) and his English wife Elizabeth Tollemache. Upon his accession, Argyll became chief of Clan Campbell and head of one of Scotland's most important aristocratic families, although the estate was rather worse for wear following the family's torrid Restoration years when two of Argyll's forebears were executed. The army career of Lord Lorne (as the future 2nd Duke was styled

[1] Christopher Storrs, 'The Union of 1707 and the War of Spanish Succession', *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 87, supplement (2008), pp. 38-39; Julian Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999), p. 324; John Childs, 'Marlborough's Wars and the Act of Union, 1702-1714', in Edward M. Spiers, Jeremy A. Crang, and Matthew Strickland (eds.), *A Military History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2014), pp. 326, 339-340.

before 1703) began in 1694 when his father persuaded William III to make the fourteen-year-old colonel of a regiment raised by the family. Argyll went on to become a key figure in securing the treaty of Union between England and Scotland and was created Earl of Greenwich in the English peerage in 1705. He was a senior military figure during the War of Spanish Succession — being promoted to general in 1711 aged thirty, and continued to play a major political role throughout the reigns of George I and George II. Argyll held important positions at court such as the Prince of Wales's Groom of the Stole (1714-1716) and Lord Steward (1719-1725), and his Greenwich earldom was elevated to a dukedom in 1719. On a military note, he succeeded Cadogan as Master-General of the Ordnance in 1725 and was promoted to field marshal in 1736. From the 1720s, Argyll and his younger brother Archibald Campbell, 1st Earl of Ilay (1682-1761, later 3rd Duke of Argyll) played a crucial role in the management of Scotland for the British government, forming the leadership of a political faction known as the Argathelians.[2]

George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney (1666-1737) (fig. 5.3) was the fifth son of the 3rd Duchess of Hamilton and her husband the 1st Earl of Selkirk. He was thus the younger brother of James Hamilton, 4th Duke of Hamilton (1658-1712) who was killed in a famous duel in Hyde Park. Bred up for an army career, Lord George Hamilton was nominally a captain in his uncle's regiment at the age of just five. He proceeded to serve extensively in the Nine Years' War (being created Earl of Orkney in the Scottish peerage in 1696) and the War of Spanish Succession, where from the beginning he was one of Marlborough's most senior and experienced officers and reached the rank of general of foot in 1711. After the wars, Orkney spent the rest of his life in England where he had previously purchased a

[2] Alexander Murdoch, 'Campbell, John, Second Duke of Argyll and Duke of Greenwich (1680-1743)', *ODNB*; John Stuart Shaw, 'Campbell, Archibald, First Duke of Argyll (d. 1703)', *ODNB*; *HoL 1660-1715*, ii., pp. 428-435; Alexander Murdoch, 'Argathelians (act. 1705– c. 1765)', *ODNB*.

country estate at Cliveden in Buckinghamshire, assuming the role of a courtier and being promoted to field marshal in 1736.[3]

Finally, John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair (1673-1747) (fig. 5.4) came from a family of lawyers. His grandfather (1619-1695) was created a viscount in the Scottish peerage in 1690 and this was promoted to an earldom for his father (1648-1707) in 1703. Seemingly more inclined to the life of a soldier, Dalrymple joined the 1692 campaign as a volunteer and proceeded to serve in a variety of military and diplomatic roles in both the Nine Years' War and War of Spanish Succession. During the latter conflict he prospered under Marlborough's patronage and guidance, serving as an aide-de-camp to the Duke in 1703. By 1712 Stair held the rank of general and after the Hanoverian Succession served as envoy and then ambassador to France from 1714 to 1720. Later, as Richard Harding has outlined, Stair became an important component of the Scottish opposition to Walpole.[4] After Walpole's fall in 1742, the ageing Stair was appointed field marshal and once again took up active command. Leading troops in Europe during the War of Austrian Succession, Stair most notably fought under George II's victorious command at the battle of Dettingen in June 1743, returning to Britain a few months later.[5]

With reference to their politics and estates, this chapter investigates how Argyll, Orkney, and Stair navigated their way through elite British society in the years running up to and the decades following the Act of Union. It also examines the similarities and differences between these three distinguished figures. It is thus a chapter about Scottish officers within a British framework rather than Scotland itself. The chapter is split into five sections. The

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[3] Lawrence B. Smith, 'Hamilton, George, First Earl of Orkney (bap. 1666, d. 1737)', *ODNB*; *HoL 1660-1715*, v., pp. 684-689.
[4] Richard Harding, 'Lord Cathcart, the Earl of Stair and the Scottish Opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, 1732-1735', *Parliamentary History*, vol. 11, issue 2 (1992).
[5] H. M., Stephens, 'Dalrymple, John, Second Earl of Stair (1673-1747)', rev. William C. Lowe, *ODNB*; *HoL 1660-1715*, v., pp. 657-660.

first section analyses the relationship between these Scottish lords and the rules governing the new British peerage which posed significant challenges to those holding Scottish peerages. The second section focuses on finances and family by exploring themes such as Stair's expensive Paris embassy and his resulting financial problems exacerbated by the burning down of his Wigtownshire seat, the motivations behind the marriages these Scottish officers made, and the economic challenges that Orkney faced during the course of his projects at Cliveden where he was assisted by figures such as his younger brother Lord Archibald Hamilton. The third section investigates how these officers navigated the ebb and flow of political factions – be that Orkney's relatively smooth transition into the role of innocuous courtier or Argyll's complex and fractious relationship with Marlborough and successive ministries. The fourth section concentrates on the political and commemorative purposes of these officers' estates such as Argyll's Adderbury, Orkney's Cliveden, and Stair's Castle Kennedy and Newliston. It considers not only actual commemorative elements but also 'invented' ones retrospectively latched onto features such as tree plantations. Finally, the fifth section examines the differing relationships between these Scottish officers and their ancestral homeland. Whereas Orkney had relatively little to do with Scotland in later life, Argyll had commitments both sides of the border, and Stair largely devoted himself to his Scottish family estates.

I.

Scottish peerages such as the dukedom of Argyll and earldoms of Orkney and Stair offered only limited access to the House of Lords in Westminster compared to English or British ones. The Act of Union in 1707 did not allow the entire Scottish peerage to sit in the British House of Lords. Instead, sixteen representative peers were elected from the wider Scottish peerage at general elections. Whilst Argyll segued into the English (later British) peerage, Orkney and Stair were left disappointed. To further complicate matters, although Orkney

and Stair initially sought British peerages, the precedent was established following the granting of a British dukedom to the Scottish Duke of Hamilton in September 1711 that even concurrently holding a British peerage did not allow Scottish peers to sit in the Lords as normal hereditary peers.[6] This did not affect Argyll however, who had sat in the Lords since 1705 using his English title of Earl (later Duke) of Greenwich which predated the Act of Union.

Surviving letters helpfully give Orkney's differing perspectives on the quest for English and British peerages. His response to Argyll's English peerage granted in 1705 was one of aloof acceptance (although he incorrectly thought Argyll was to be but a baron). As he wrote to one of his brothers on 19 November:

> I dout not but you know Argiles being maid a peer of England he told me he was to come in to the House of L^{d}s this week he is the fittest for a Court in the world for he will have all he askes else he will doe nothing, I think he is to be but a baron however he is very fond of it, and it is the greatest Compliment the Court can macke him and they doe it very unwillingly, but are forced to please him as I am told[7]

The ambitious Argyll was made an English peer on 26 November as a reward for his services as Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament that year. Not only did he secure acquiescence from the parliament for a treaty of Union with England, but also the right of the Queen (rather than the Scottish Parliament) to name the Scottish commissioners who would negotiate the Union.[8] Despite Argyll's youth, Orkney clearly understood the *realpolitik* of the situation and does not appear to have been particularly agitated by this mark of favour. That is not to say that Orkney was happy to see endless honours heaped on Argyll.

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[6] Geoffrey Holmes, 'The Hamilton Affair of 1711-1712: A Crisis in Anglo-Scottish Relations', *The English Historical Review*, vol. 77, no. 303 (April 1962), pp. 257-282. This rule was overturned in 1782.
[7] NLS, MS. 1033 (Fraser collection), fols. 9-10.
[8] *HoL 1660-1715*, ii., p. 429; Murdoch, 'Campbell, John, Second Duke of Argyll and Duke of Greenwich (1680-1743)', *ODNB*; Shaw, *The Political History of Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, p. 15. For Argyll around the time of the union see P. W. J. Riley, *The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727* (London, 1964), pp. 20-21; P. W. J. Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland: A Study in Anglo-Scottish Politics of the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 1978), pp. 69-314 *passim*.

He and his older brother the Duke of Hamilton were, Godolphin believed, furious in March 1710 when Argyll was invested in the Order of the Garter.[9]

In contrast to his muted response to Argyll's English peerage, when Orkney became (in the event, mistakenly) convinced in the spring of 1710 that Stair was to be granted a British peerage, he was outraged. As he wrote to one of his brothers on 15 May, it seemed he 'was in the Spleen' when he wrote his last letter and 'I beleeve I have little less reason to be otherways now since I am credibly informed Ld Stairs is to be a peer of Brittaine those that procures him this coud have procured me the same, and I think my services has been as great as ever his was'.[10] Whilst Stair's British peerage failed to materialise, Orkney's suspicions that his fellow Scot had powerful supporters were indeed correct as Marlborough and his allies actively lobbied Queen Anne on Stair's behalf during this period.[11]

However, whether he was aware of it or not, Orkney was also being actively promoted by Marlborough at this time. Indeed, in May 1710 (the same time as Orkney was venting to his brother about preference being given to Stair rather than himself) Marlborough asked Godolphin to try and extract some promise from the Queen so that Orkney could be assured that 'when any of his countrymen are made pears that he shall be made an English baron.' This was a calculated political move on Marlborough's part who explicitly told Godolphin that he wanted to use Orkney as a counterweight to the powerful Argyll who enjoyed great favour at court. In addition, Marlborough argued that only by maintaining his position as the exclusive source of patronage for his subordinate officers would discipline in the army be brought 'back to that happy posture in which it was some time ago'.[12]

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[9] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, iii., p. 1432.
[10] NLS, MS. 1033, fol. 77.
[11] For example, see *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ii., pp. 1024, 1033, iii., pp. 1200-1201. Anne promised she would fulfil the peerage request someday, but this never happened.
[12] *Ibid.*, iii., p. 1487.

Marlborough's anxieties about his status as the premier source of patronage were heightened on several occasions in 1710. For example, after the death of the 2nd Earl of Essex in January, his regiment was almost given to Colonel John 'Jack' Hill (brother of the royal favourite and the Duchess of Marlborough's rival Abigail Masham) after Queen Anne promised it to him rather than Marlborough's candidate, Lieutenant-General Thomas Meredyth. In the end the regiment went to Sir Richard Temple as a compromise. Similarly, Essex's office of Constable of the Tower was given to the 4th Earl Rivers without Marlborough being properly consulted, disappointing his hopes of securing it for Cadogan. Marlborough also clashed with the Queen over Hill and Samuel Masham's (Abigail Masham's husband) promotions in the army.[13] Godolphin, who told Arthur Maynwaring 'that Marlborough was grown to be very kind to Lord Orkney, and did set him up in the army against the Duke of Argyle', concurred with Marlborough's intentions, though was suspicious of Lady Orkney's political intrigues and was pessimistic that the Queen would be able to comply.[14] According to Maynwaring, Marlborough's son-in-law Sunderland also advocated using Orkney as a counterweight to Argyll, although both Maynwaring and the Duchess of Marlborough were deeply suspicious of both men.[15] Sarah's low opinion of Orkney was probably noticed at court as it would explain Lady Orkney's calculated charm offensive. As a correspondent of Harley noted on 28 May 1710: 'Lady Orkney is often with her [the Duchess of Marlborough], and at the table begins a health to her and all that's for the Duke's interest, and total destruction to those that are not for it.'[16]

Stair sought a British peerage with just as much earnestness as Orkney. His justification for this went beyond merely citing his own merits. Writing to Godolphin on 22

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[13] *HoL 1660-1715*, ii., pp. 596-598; Harris, *The General in Winter*, pp. 289-294, 305-306.
[14] *Private Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, i., p. 281; *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, iii., pp. 1497-1498, 1519.
[15] *Private Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, i., pp. 281-282, 322.
[16] *HMC Portland*, iv., p. 542.

February 1707, Stair used the services of his recently-deceased father, who played an important part in the formation of the Union between England and Scotland, to drive home his argument. Referring to a British peerage as not a reward for himself but for his 'father's family', Stair remarked:

> If her Majesty should think fit to honor my Lord Stair's [the 1st Earl's] family by this mark of her favor, those, that envy it, cannot very well complain, my Lord Stair having distinguished himself so very particularly in the affairs of the union, and never having had in his lifetime any recompense from her Majesty. This mark of the Queen's acceptance of his service would be infinitely more honorable to his memory, and more agreeable to his friends, than any other, because at this time the reward would particularly denote his service.[17]

Stair did not let the fall of the Godolphin ministry stop him and continued this line of attack in a letter of May 1711 to the Earl of Mar, another important figure in the creation of the Union. As Stair implored: 'I think I can never apply myself to a man who can better judge of the service my father and his friends did in the matter of the Union than to yourself. I hope the friendship which was between you and him won't make you averse to the having this mark of honour and distinction [a British peerage] put upon his family.'[18]

In the absence of British peerages and the subsequent realisation that even these would not allow unfettered access to the House of Lords, Orkney and Stair had to rely on being elected as Scottish representative peers. Orkney successfully secured his election at every vote between 1708 and his death in 1737, whereas Stair's history was much more chequered. Stair was a representative peer in 1707-1708, 1715-1734, and 1744 until his death in 1747. Most of his periods outside the Lords can be explained by his lack of court favour at those points, ministerial support being the primary influence in the selection of the victorious peers. As Geoffrey Holmes writes of the 1710 election, '…the proceedings at Edinburgh in 1710, had conclusively confirmed that the so-called "election" was a ludicrous

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[17] *A Selection from the Papers of the Earls of Marchmont*, ed. George Henry Rose (3 vols., London, 1831), iii., pp. 447-448. The 1st Earl of Stair's unionist efforts probably aided his son's promotion to brigadier-general in 1706, see Childs, 'Marlborough's Wars and the Act of Union', p. 340.
[18] *HMC Portland*, iv., p. 690.

formality, with success a virtual certainty for anyone on the official ministerial list of recommended peers'.[19] For instance, in 1734 Stair, who had recently split with Walpole's ministry, attempted to float a slate of opposition Scottish peers at the election.[20] Although Walpole's majority suffered elsewhere, the Scottish opposition was decisively defeated, the court list of representative peers winning by 59 votes to the opposition's 26.[21] Yet there were exceptions to this normal course of events at the Scottish peers' elections in this period. Despite strong support from Marlborough, Stair failed to be re-elected in 1708, lamenting to the Earl of Mar on 5 July that 'I cannot blame my friends; they have done as people generally do in a storm – flung the lumber first overboard', and claiming a few months later that the representative peer elections were attended by 'eternal inconveniences.'[22]

It is little wonder then that in 1719 Stair was such a strong advocate of the Stanhope-Sunderland ministry's unsuccessful Peerage Bill which, among other things, would have replaced the sixteen Scottish representative peers with twenty-five hereditary ones. As he wrote on 26 March 1719:

> I'm sorry ye affair of ye Peerage is like to meet wth so much difficulty in ye H. of Commons, tis strange w^{t} turns people will give to their imaginations tis certain there never was so good a bill for ye liberty of ye Subject… I wish ye number [of hereditary Scottish peers] was made a litle larger, but as ye numbers stand ye generall good to ye whole Island is so great ye particular good to Scotland is so considerable, y^{t} I think ye Intrest of no fourscore men [the Walpole-led opponents of the bill] in ye wirl [world] should stand in ye way of it,[23]

Argyll, not subjected to representative peer elections but recently reconciled with the Stanhope-Sunderland ministry and given the office of Lord Steward (and later that year a

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[19] Holmes, 'The Hamilton Affair of 1711-1712', p. 268.
[20] For Stair and his opposition to Walpole during the 1733 Excise Crisis and afterwards, see Langford, *The Excise Crisis*, pp. 70, 83-85, 100, 116, 141.
[21] Harding, 'Lord Cathcart, the Earl of Stair and the Scottish Opposition to Sir Robert Walpole', pp. 193-194.
[22] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, i., pp. 235-236, 239.
[23] NLS, MS. 3044 (Miscellaneous papers, relating chiefly to lands and families of Angus), no. 67.

British dukedom), also strongly promoted the Peerage Bill. A correspondent wrote to Edward Harley (later 3rd Earl of Oxford) that on 28 February 1719 Argyll had 'talked much of the grievances of the Peers of his own nation, in the Sovereign's being debarred the liberty of creating any of them English'.[24] However, Argyll had a mercurial attitude towards increasing Scottish representation in the Lords and presumably evolved his position in line with the current needs of the Argathelian interest. In 1721-1722, when a new 'Scottish Peerage Bill' was a real possibility and had ministerial backing, Argyll and his brother Ilay opposed the idea, the latter (contrasting with his 1719 position) arguing that such a bill needed consent from all the Scottish peers.[25] Overall, Argyll, Orkney, and Stair's attitudes to British peerages and reform of the Scottish representative peer system are probably best considered in light of personal or family interests before anything else.

II.

If Orkney and Stair were separated from Argyll by their status in the peerage, the duke was also in an increasingly different league when it came to wealth and resources. Indeed, the rewards Argyll reaped from his military and political appointments earned him a certain notoriety. One satirical pamphlet written after his death in 1743 was titled *An Essay on the Memory and Character of DOROPHAGUS, the great Patriot of the North*, 'Dorophagus' translating to a devourer of (in this case financial) gifts. It recalled that 'When this wonderful Being appeared in the World, he is said not to have had a clear thousand Pounds a Year,' but by his death this 'amounted to near Three-hundred-thousand Pounds. – A notable Sum to be

[24] *Tory and Whig: The Parliamentary Papers of Edward Harley, Third Earl of Oxford, and William Hay, MP for Seaford, 1716-1753*, eds. Stephen Taylor and Clyve Jones (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 217. For the Scottish dimension of the 1719 Peerage Bill, see Clyve Jones, '"Venice Preserv'd; or A Plot Discovered": The Political and Social Context of the Peerage Bill of 1719', in Clyve Jones (ed.), *A Pillar of the Constitution: The House of Lords in British Politics, 1640-1784* (London and Ronceverte, 1989), pp. 84-88, 93, 98-99, 103-104.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

collected from Places and Employments!'[26] Even sympathetic tributes felt the need to rebut claims of Argyll's avarice. One emphasised that 'The Narrowness of his Fortune, when he first set out in the World, obliged him to a prudent Conduct… yet in this he never allowed these Circumstances to carry him to any Actions that bespoke a covetous or griping spirit'. Had Argyll been of a rapacious nature, the author claimed, he had the opportunity to build a much greater fortune than he actually did.[27] Unlike Argyll, Stair and Orkney were much more restricted in their financial resources although this is only to be expected. As Bruce P. Lenman points out, the size of the Argyll estates was unique and most Scottish peers were, relative to their English brethren, quite poor. Scottish noble families such as the Dalrymples and the Hamiltons must be seen in the context of a country whose peerage in 1707 was roughly the same size as the English one, but had only a quarter of England's population and thus a much-reduced tax base. Indeed, even the Dukes of Argyll were not on the same level as the greatest Whig aristocrats in England.[28]

Of course, some financial problems were self-inflicted. Stair maintained a prohibitively expensive lifestyle as British envoy and then ambassador to France between 1714 and 1720. The French memoirist the Duke of Saint-Simon described Stair as keen 'to attract company [at his diplomatic residence] by offering high living,' and 'poor but a great spender'.[29] Likewise, Secretary of State James Craggs the Younger reproachfully wrote to Stair in October 1718 on the topic of his 'exorbitant' expenses and destructive passion for gambling.[30] Stair vigorously, if not entirely convincingly, defended his spending the following

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[26] NRS, GD224/925/9/4 (Papers of the Montague-Douglas-Scott family, Dukes of Buccleuch); 'Essay on the Memory and Character of Dorophagus, the Great Patriot of the North.' Accessed 6 June 2017 at https://www.nls.uk/rare-books-acquisitions/?id=773.

[27] Robert Campbell, *The Life of the Most Illustrious Prince John, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich* (London, 1745), pp. 347-348.

[28] Bruce P. Lenman, 'A Client Society: Scotland Between the '15 and the '45', in Jeremy Black (ed.), *Britain in the Age of* Walpole (Basingstoke, 1984), pp. 79-80.

[29] Louis de Rouvroy Duke of Saint-Simon, *Historical Memoirs of the Duc de Saint-Simon*, ed. Lucy Norton (3 vols., London, 1967-1972), ii., p. 409; iii., pp. 37-38.

[30] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., pp. 60-61.

January, claiming that '£5000 will pay all the debts I owe in France', blaming his 'misfortune' on dabbling in the stock market, and promising he would abstain from future gambling.[31] In 1720 Stair was recalled from France, largely due to his inability to get on with the influential French finance minister, his fellow Scotsman John Law. In turn Stair felt like his position in Paris was being undermined by the British government.[32] Furthermore, Stair was deeply disappointed by the cool reception with which he was faced in London. In June 1720 he lamented to Craggs that it was apparent he was not going to be granted an audience with George I on his return: 'It is a great while ago since Mr. Law told his friends here, that I should not be allowed to have the honour of seeing the King. It is pretty hard to digest I own, if, after serving the King very faithfully, very zealously, and with some success, I should have the mortification not so much as to have my Master's good countenance.'[33] Indeed, the Victorian editor of Stair's papers went so far as to refer to him returning to Britain 'in partial disgrace' following his embassy's termination.[34]

Stair's financial affairs were not helped by the burning down of his Wigtownshire house of Castle Kennedy in the autumn of 1716 (fig. 5.5). According to his mother Elizabeth, nothing was saved 'but my son's own picture and two more. I know he will be concerned, because Castle Kennedy was the favourite house he had in this country'.[35] A Jacobite report claimed that Stair had lost over £4000 in the blaze,[36] and the castle was never rebuilt (the Stairs built a new house in the 1860s). Stair's later extensive gardening programme at Castle Kennedy thus took place around a burnt shell, he and his family instead residing at nearby

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[31] *Ibid.*, ii., pp. 98-99.
[32] Many of Stair's complaints are outlined in a letter to Craggs dated 14 February 1720, see *Miscellaneous State Papers. From 1501 to 1726* (2 vols., London, 1778), ii., pp. 604-607.
[33] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 620.
[34] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., p. 157.
[35] *Ibid.*, i., p. 327. For an engraving of castle ruins, see Francis Grose, *The Antiquities of Scotland* (2 vols., London, 1789-1791), ii., inserted between pp. 190 and 191.
[36] *Calendar of the Stuart Papers Belonging to His Majesty the King, Preserved at Windsor Castle*, ed. Historical Manuscripts Commission (7 vols., London, 1902-1923), iii., p. 311.

Culhorn. The immaculate new gardens and ruined old house must have created an unusual juxtaposition, and A. A. Tait argues that 'So impressive a *memento mori* was hardly intended'. Tait suggests that the Scottish architect and landscape designer William Adam, who certainly drew up unexecuted designs for rebuilding Stair's house of Newliston near Edinburgh (fig. 5.6), also came up with unexecuted designs for a new Castle Kennedy.[37] If a rebuilding proposal was considered and rejected, this can probably be blamed on financial restrictions. The paucity of Stair's rewards upon the termination of his embassy and the ramifications of his falling out with Walpole in the early 1730s must have been hardly conducive to fortune-building either. For example, Stair lost his sinecure of Vice-Admiral of Scotland in 1733 and had no regimental colonelcy between 1734 and 1743. Indeed, the dowager Duchess of Marlborough loaned him £1000 per year for a while to make up for the lost income.[38] In March 1734 Stair even considered selling Newliston, despite it being his wife's 'country idol [idyll]',[39] possibly for financial reasons (after Stair's death Newliston was eventually sold to a merchant).

In addition, Stair had a great love for agricultural and industrial improvement at his Scottish estates which was a deleteriously expensive hobby. Writing to a friend in March 1736, Stair hoped that the estate improvements he had made over the past couple of decades would prove fruitful but admitted that he had only been able to go through with them thanks to 'the help of a generous friend.' Indeed, Stair's extensive improvement programme was beginning to seriously hamper his finances by this point and he ended up accepting a favourable loan from his uncle Sir Hew Dalrymple, Lord North Berwick and other family friends.[40] Furthermore, the possibility that his family 'very probably may fall into

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[37] A. A. Tait, *The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835* (Edinburgh, 1980), p. 12. For Adam and his designs for Stair, see Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 55-59; William Adam, *Vitruvius Scoticus*, ed. James Simpson (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 19, 31, pl. 32-36, 120-121.
[38] Harris, *A Passion for Government*, p. 300.
[39] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., p. 434.
[40] *Ibid.*, ii., pp. 238-239.

distress' after his death was acknowledged by Stair when he wrote to the judge Duncan Forbes, Lord Culloden on 30 April 1747. Stair hoped that 'you will now & then take into your Consideration, & give your best Advice to my family', perhaps wanting Forbes to offer general as well as legal guidance to his bereaved relatives. Stair died about a week later.[41]

One way that financial circumstances could be improved was through marriage as has been seen in previous chapters in the cases of Cobham, Stanhope, and Strafford. This was done by Lord George Hamilton when he married William III's presumed former mistress, Elizabeth Villiers (c. 1657-1733), in 1695. The following year Hamilton was created Earl of Orkney and purchased the Cliveden estate in Buckinghamshire where stood a great house built by the 2nd Duke of Buckingham in the reign of Charles II. Elizabeth Villiers at this point had been gifted a large amount of forfeited Irish lands by the King allegedly worth £26,000. Whilst she was later to lose these by the 1700 Act of Resumption, she may have received compensation from the secret service funds worth £13,000.[42] Certainly, John Macky later remarked that Orkney had 'got a good Estate' by marrying Villiers.[43] In 1710 the Duchess of Marlborough derided the marriage, claiming Orkney was 'the most covetous wretch in nature, and I think there does not need to be a greater instance of it than for a man of quality, who has had a good post, to marry that woman for mere money'.[44]

Orkney's marriage was both financially advantageous and happy. The same cannot be said of the lucrative match arranged in 1701 for Argyll, then styled Lord Lorne, by his father. As one Scottish baronet noted on 26 June, the 1st Duke of Argyll 'is marying his son to ane Inglish match with 50,000 pound' — Mary Browne, niece of the wealthy financier Sir Charles Duncombe.[45] The relationship evidently did not work and the couple quickly

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[41] *Culloden Papers*, p. 303.
[42] Rachel Weil, 'Villiers [Hamilton], Elizabeth, Countess of Orkney (c. 1657–1733)', *ODNB*.
[43] Macky, *Memoirs of the Secret Services*, 2nd edn., p. 162.
[44] *Private Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, i., p. 322.
[45] *More Culloden Papers*, i., p. 261.

separated, although Jonathan Swift heard rumours that Argyll inherited £200,000 after Duncombe's death in 1711.[46] Months after Mary Browne died in 1717, Argyll married Jane Warburton (d. 1767), daughter of Cheshire gentry and a maid of honour to Princess Caroline (she had formerly been one to Queen Anne). A caricaturised version of Warburton appears in the family memoirs of Argyll's great-niece Lady Louisa Stuart where she is portrayed as a good-natured and humble woman, but uneducated, unrefined, and an ill-suited candidate to be a maid of honour.[47] Although Stuart's book is effectively a collection of anecdotes rather than hard fact, there is no reason to contradict her view that Argyll and Jane Warburton's marriage was one driven by love and affection, rather than useful political or financial links.

Compared to Argyll's marriage to Warburton, Stair made a more politically-significant move when in 1708 he married Eleanor Primrose (d. 1759), the youngest child of the 2nd Earl of Loudoun and widow to the 1st Viscount Primrose. This marriage further strengthened the connection between their respective Scottish noble families (Eleanor's brother the 3rd Earl of Loudoun was married to Stair's sister Margaret) and undoubtedly played a role in Stair's future political activities. For example, in 1731 Stair pressed for his nephew, the 4th Earl of Loudoun, to be made a representative peer.[48] However, it was not an interest he always stood steadfastly by. At the 1741 general election Stair assisted in the election campaign against Major-General James Campbell (c. 1680-1745), third son of the 2nd Earl of Loudoun, who had been MP for Ayrshire since 1727 thanks to his family's influence.[49] Campbell was not only Stair's brother-in-law but had also served under him as lieutenant-colonel of his dragoon regiment during the War of Spanish Succession. Unlike the anti-

[46] Swift, *Journal to Stella*, p. 181.
[47] Lady Louisa Stuart, *Some Account of John Duke of Argyll and his Family* (London, 1863), pp. 5-6.
[48] Harding, 'Lord Cathcart, the Earl of Stair and the Scottish Opposition to Sir Robert Walpole', p. 196.
[49] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., p. 274.

Walpole Stair however, Campbell was a government MP and in 1741 was defeated by an opposition Whig, Patrick Craufurd, backed by Stair and Argyll.[50]

Whilst Orkney's marriage in 1695 to Elizabeth Villiers would have brought him some economic stability, it by no means ended his concerns regarding his financial affairs. He wrote to his sister Lady Panmure on 15 May 1700 that 'I dont know of a farthing that I can recon upon but my Regement'.[51] Similarly, on 10 June 1701 Orkney grumbled about the scant rewards of his army career to his brother the Duke of Hamilton: 'I want evry sort of thing for an Army, I believe I shall be putt to the Expencee and reap little fruite by it'.[52] This escalated into something approaching despair upon the death of William III in March 1702 when Orkney wrote to his mother the day before the King died:

> our Consternatione is so great… I think it my duty to give you an account that the King is att the extremity most of people dont think he can possibly live 24 hours its what we aught all to have expected long agoe but what we dont wish we still flatter our selves, this time is most deplorable to my circumstances for besides looseing all he gave us to sub[s]ist upon we had hopes just now to have got somthing that woud have helped us forever but now he is past doeing any thing and we must submitte what to do with my self or how to turn I dont know[53]

What appointments Orkney did come to possess were not always as profitable as might first appear. As his brother the 2nd Earl of Selkirk told their mother on 24 October 1704, Orkney's governorship of Virginia was ostensibly worth £3000 per year but because Orkney was an absentee governor, it was only worth £2000 '& Lady Orkney says not much above 1500£'.[54] In October 1707, Orkney claimed to one of his brothers that £1000 of Virginia money he was owed had not materialised, despite his appeals to Sunderland and Godolphin. He complained that 'it is using one as ill as can be and I told my L[d] Malb: soe much and that if they were weary of me I am seure I was of the war for att the years end I was not a sixpence

[50] J. M. Simpson, 'Ayrshire', *HoC 1715-1754*.
[51] NRS, GD406/1/7571 (Papers of the Douglas Hamilton family, Duke of Hamilton and Brandon).
[52] NRS, GD406/1/6584.
[53] NRS, GD406/1/7083.
[54] NRS, GD406/1/7240.

the better'. Indeed, Orkney was pessimistic about the profitability of an army career: 'nothing is to be gained by the service, ther is such econimy and managment that I know few will better themselvs by this war, one meets with twenty things to Cross one tho I think I have not deserved it.[55]

Orkney was similarly unsuccessful with financial speculation. Although in 1707 he received compensation following his family's investment in the ill-fated Scottish colonial venture known as the Darien Scheme, he (and his siblings) later lost sizeable sums in the financial crisis caused by the South Sea Bubble. Orkney lamented in December 1720 that 'I thought my fortune was made foure months agoe, and now I think I have very nigh lost my all, I mean my own monney I have layd out'.[56] After Orkney's death in 1737, his son-in-law the 5th Earl of Orrery (who was married to Orkney's daughter Henrietta until her death in 1732) reflected on the provision made for his family. Orrery evidently thought Orkney's fortune would be rather stretched, remarking that 'The old Man has left his Riches where They are most wanted – to his eldest Daughter [Anne, 2nd Countess of Orkney], his proper Heir: but I fear when our Divisions are made, Her Acquisition will not be so great as I wish It.'[57]

Despite his financial restrictions however, Orkney devoted a significant amount of his time and money to modernising and altering his country estate at Cliveden. In the aftermath of the battle of Blenheim, Orkney wrote to his mother that 'I am weary enufe of this traide and wish heartily it were att an End, but I am engaged in it and it is not soe easy to get out of it, of all things I wish for a retired Country life which is the greatest hapiness I can propose to my selfe, if it please God ever to give it me I shall be thankfull.'[58] Such

[55] NLS, MS. 1033, fol. 34.
[56] For Orkney and Darien Scheme compensation, see *Ibid.*, fols. 21, 34; and for the South Sea Bubble, *Ibid.*, fols. 142, 146.
[57] *The Orrery Papers*, i., p. 198.
[58] NRS, GD406/1/8047.

intentions were not of course unusual. Marlborough's anxiousness to enjoy a peaceful retirement at Blenheim has already been discussed in chapter one and is epitomised by comments like the one he made in August 1708 that he would rather eat the worst peaches at Woodstock than the best ones near Lille 'for every day of my life, I grow more impatient for quiet.'[59] Similarly, Stair, then Lord Dalrymple, wrote optimistically to the Earl of Mar in September 1706 that 'the success of this campaign leaves no hope of further war. I begin already to turn my thoughts towards taking a cottage from you, of planting trees, and suchlike things; a little burgundy and champagne must now and then renew some faint remembrance of what is past.'[60] Of Orkney's retirement at Cliveden, Colen Campbell wrote that 'after the dangerous Fatigues of thirty Campaigns… with immortal Honour to himself and Country, [Orkney] has now the Pleasure of this delightful Retreat, when the Business of his King and Country does not call for his Service.'[61]

Orkney's quest to achieve his 'retired Country life' was however dogged with concerns over the direction and funding of the works at Cliveden. Whilst his brother Selkirk cheerfully wrote to their eldest brother Hamilton on 10 December 1705 that 'I have had a letter from my Bro: Orkney all he is now taken up with is draughts & designes for his House of Clifden I find he is very much pleased with his being there and I find he has been but little at London since he came',[62] Orkney's correspondence regarding his project is usually more characterised by frustration. Orkney was concerned about his lack of architectural expertise and admitted that 'I declaire I dont understand it well, [only] when a thing is finished I can give a judgment'.[63] Consequently, he sought the advice of his peers. As he wrote in early 1706, 'I am not as yet come to any resoloutione about Cleuvden and my head is turned with

[59] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ii., p. 1077.
[60] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, i., p. 230.
[61] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, ii., p. 4.
[62] NRS, GD406/1/7250.
[63] NLS, MS. 1033, fol. 8.

different opinions for not two men agrees, and I have had the opinion of sevrall of the chief men In England and one woud think it noe great matter since what is proposd is two little wings with a Colonaide to joine them to the great House so to Enclose it; I shall att last tacke my own fancy out of all.' One of these 'chief men' was Marlborough, who 'bid me get my whole desine and doe one part this Year and soe by degrees,' and whose mind would have been preoccupied with his own great project (one much more ambitious and expensive than anything Orkney was contemplating) at Blenheim.[64] Orkney admired Marlborough's decisiveness on the battlefield, writing to one of his brothers in August 1703 of the quarrels between the militarily assertive Captain-General and the more cautious Dutch, but adding that he was serene as Marlborough 'pushes on things, others ways I beleeve little or nothing woud be done'.[65] It may have been these qualities which motivated Orkney to seek Marlborough's advice at Cliveden. Orkney's fellow Scot the Earl of Mar was another source of wisdom. As Margaret Stewart has shown in her study of Mar's architectural and gardening interests, Orkney was aided by the future Jacobite commander in his gardening endeavours at Cliveden around 1707-1708 and Mar may have drawn one of the surviving landscape plans of Cliveden himself.[66]

Orkney's family also provided important assistance at Cliveden. During Orkney's long absences whilst on campaign in Flanders, Lady Orkney must have played a similar role to the Duchess of Marlborough at Blenheim in ensuring that the project ran smoothly. The importance of elite women such as the Countess of Orkney and Orkney's mother the Duchess of Hamilton in the management of Orkney's finances is suggested by his request to one of his brothers in April 1707 to tell their mother 'that when that monney for the Darien Company is payed that she woud remitte my Shaire to my Ldy Orkney… I doe assure you

[64] *Ibid.*, fols. 14-14A.
[65] *Ibid.*, fol. 2A.
[66] Margaret Stewart, *The Architectural, Landscape and Constitutional Plans of the Earl of Mar, 1700-32* (Dublin, 2016), pp. 184-186.

Clifden will tacke it all and much more'.[67] In October, Orkney remarked that the Darien Scheme compensation his mother 'was pleased to give me' had come just in time for Lady Orkney 'was upon her last legs and that the chiefe work man was to have 12 hundred of it'.[68] The male member of Orkney's family who provided him with the greatest help at Cliveden was his youngest brother Lord Archibald Hamilton (1673-1754), a captain in the Royal Navy. Although he professed no real expertise in building, Lord Archibald gladly spent time at Cliveden during the months when Orkney was away. As he wrote to another brother in September 1707, the only fault he could find at Cliveden was that 'it is too ingageing, there being so much to doe & so great incouragement'. Indeed, 'I have past my time very agreable ye latter part of ye Sumer & I am a kind of Overseer here, I wish I understood it better', though he had recently corresponded with Orkney about the project.[69] Similarly, the following August Lord Archibald commented that Lady Orkney had given him 'leave to advise about ye worke y^{t} is doeing so y^{t} you may conclude I doe not want amusements'.[70]

However, it was not just architectural amusement which attracted Lord Archibald to Cliveden. Lord Archibald also tried to use his brother's Buckinghamshire estate as a base from which he could cultivate the electorate of the nearby seat of Great Marlow which he hoped to represent in Parliament. Drawing on his own resources as well as Orkney's, Lord Archibald commented with satisfaction in 1707 that 'My Interest att Marlow goes on well it costs me som money & My Lady Orkney a good dale of Beer'.[71] Lord Archibald was eventually offered a candidacy in Lanarkshire on the Hamilton family interest which he thought preferable to the English borough he had so far been canvassing. Upon being elected in Lanarkshire but failing in Great Marlow, he duly took his seat for the former in

[67] NLS, MS. 1033, fol. 21.
[68] *Ibid*., fol. 34.
[69] *Ibid.*, fol. 31.
[70] *Ibid.*, fol. 53.
[71] *Ibid*., fol. 32.

1708, ending his political relationship with Cliveden.[72] Socially however, Lord Archibald continued his relationship with this part of Buckinghamshire and went on to build his own house not too far from Cliveden at Park Place (or 'Arch Mount' as Orkney referred to it). Following a visit to his brother's house, Orkney wrote in October 1723 that 'evry day one sees alterations for it is not a very big place, but yet realy has a very great Look, he has realy done a prodigious dale in one years time… in a word both he and I are mad for I beleeve we woud both sell the shirt of our backs to finish our works'.[73] Whilst the situation never became that dire, Orkney certainly found that Cliveden became something of a money pit.

Orkney's concerns over how much his house and garden projects would cost are a constant theme in his letters. On 19 November 1705, before work started, he grumbled to one of his brothers:

> I have got two old Houses upon my back [Cliveden and the adjacent Taplow Court which Orkney acquired around the same time]. I owne I alwise thought it to[o] great for me even when my purse could have pretended to such a place, but people thought it lay soe convenient to Taplow and that a House may be got out of it cheaper than to have built on[e], I beleeve hav been great Incitments to buy it, tho I declare to you a good pairt of the Monney has been borrowed to buy it… and now to begine to build one needs a good purse,

After detailing some proposals, Orkney sighed that 'I find what ever way one goes to work a great dale of monney must be spent'.[74] Not long afterwards Orkney settled on constructing two wings linked to the pre-existing main house by colonnades (fig. 5.7).[75] However, he found in January 1706 that 'I am more Embarassd for I find it will cost more then I expected

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[72] David Wilkinson, 'Hamilton, Lord Archibald (1673-1754), of Motherwell, Lanark., and Riccarton and Pardovan, Linlithgow.', *HoC 1690-1715*.
[73] NLS, MS. 1033, fol. 157. Lord Archibald purchased Park Place in 1719 and sold it to Prince Frederick in 1738, see 'Historic England, Park Place, and Temple Combe'. Accessed 4 December 2017 at https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000588; Kimerly Rorschach, 'Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707-1751), as Collector and Patron', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, vol. 55 (1989/1990), pp. 31-32.
[74] NLS, MS. 1033, fol. 8.
[75] The additions were designed by Thomas Archer, see Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, ii., p. 4, pl. 70-74; Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'The Cliveden Album: Drawings by Archer, Leoni and Gibbs for the 1st Earl of Orkney', *Architectural History*, vol. 19 (1976), figs. 2a-2b.

considerably now that I offer to come to a bergaine'. His plans to remove the unnecessary top storey of the main house were likewise to 'cost a great dale'.[76] By February Orkney had twenty or thirty men working at Cliveden, 'but whither I realy goe on with it or not this Year I am Incertaine, for it realy depends upon the purse'.[77] Orkney pressed ahead although by April 1707 he was 'heartily weary' of the works 'and long much to have that expense over'.[78] Furthermore, surviving designs at Cliveden by or attributed to the architects Thomas Archer and Giacomo Leoni for completely new houses may be evidence that Orkney considered completely rebuilding the property on multiple occasions, being prevented by financial limitations.[79]

The hard landscaping of the grounds at Cliveden was another unpleasant financial surprise for Orkney. When Charles Bridgeman was employed at Cliveden in the 1720s, busying himself in the creation of an amphitheatre and carving new slopes, Orkney sighed that 'Bridgeman mackes difficultys of nothing I told him if I had thought to had been the one Halfe of what I see it will cost, I beleeve I never had done it, he says the begining is the worst'.[80] Orkney's keenness to try and pursue budget-friendly solutions can be clearly seen in the garden's main parterre. After having various parterre designs drawn up over the years, such as a couple of highly ornamental *broderie* parterre designs conceived in 1713 by the French formal garden designer Claude Desgots (nephew of Louis XIV's gardener André Le Nôtre), Orkney finally settled on a much plainer grass sward design.[81] As he wrote to one of his brothers on 5 December 1723, he had been very busy with planting at Cliveden:

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[76] NLS, MS. 1033, fols. 14-14A.
[77] *Ibid.*, fol. 15.
[78] *Ibid.*, fol. 21.
[79] Jackson-Stops, 'The Cliveden Album', pp. 7-8, figs. 2c-5b; National Trust, *Cliveden, Buckinghamshire* (London, 1994), p. 16. One of Leoni's designs is dated 1727. For Archer and Leoni, see Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 71-73, 642-645.
[80] NLS, MS. 1033, fol. 157.
[81] For various designs for Cliveden's gardens, see Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Formal Garden Designs for Cliveden: The Work of Claude Desgots and Others for the 1st Earl of Orkney', in Gervase Jackson-Stops

> I aught to have let this planting alone till next Autum for we have planted in such Hurray that it is not done soe well as it shoud have been done but Her Highness [Princess Caroline] says she will be ther next year, and tho the trees looks like soe many stackes [stakes] and will doe soe for some years yet I beleeve you will not dislike it I call it a quaker parter for it is very plain and yet I beleeve you will think it noble the vice Chambellan [Thomas Coke] was to see me the day before I left cliefden he was surprysed he sayd he never [saw] such a piece in his life, enfine il ne coute pas de prunis ['finally it does not cost plums' – i.e. it was very cheap], soe I hope it will be approved by the Conosseurs[82]

Whilst therefore Orkney strove for a garden design that would please and impress cultured visitors such as Princess Caroline and the Vice-Chamberlain, one of the main reasons he settled on his new austere 'Quaker' parterre was its cheapness relative to some of the more ornamental designs which he had originally considered. Indeed, a certain sheepishness about this is suggested by Orkney's hiding this fact behind a French euphemism rather than saying it outright.

It was not just ornament and display at Cliveden which took up so much of Orkney's time and money but also practical agricultural improvement as well. For instance, in 1703 Orkney purchased an estate in Broadwell, Oxfordshire.[83] In October 1723, Orkney wrote to one of his brothers that he was to visit his Oxfordshire estate en-route to Bath 'wher I have a good dale of Business to doe'. Orkney planned to build a new farm, enclose some common land, and erect five or six miles of walling: 'this they say is improovement, but whither ever I will live to see an improoved rent God knows all I see a good dale of money must goe'.[84] Orkney had to engage a great deal of restraint to not be overwhelmed by such projects. Upon seeing the vineyards of his brother Lord Archibald in 1723, Orkney mused that he would have liked to have created his own vineyard at Cliveden as 'I realy beleeve it woud turn to profit in time, but I have to many Irons in ye fier'.[85]

(ed.), *The National Trust Year Book 1976-77: Studies in Art History and Nature Conservation Relating to Properties in the Care of the National Trust* (London, 1976-1977), pp. 100-117.

[82] NLS, MS. 1033, fols. 159-160.

[83] 'Broadwell Parish: Broadwell', in Simon Townley (ed.), *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 17* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 20-59, BHO.

[84] NLS, MS. 1033, fols. 157-158.

[85] *Ibid.*, fol. 158.

Orkney confessed that his improvement project in Oxfordshire was a task 'to[o] heavy for me and more than I shoud doe, soe I see how hard it is to govern our passions even att my aige, and realy I find my selfe grow extreamly old'.[86] Orkney's 'passions' in this case were building and improvement, and he was not alone in engaging in great works in advanced age. Contemporary commentators found much to criticise in this, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu thinking in 1759 that 'Building is the general weakness of old people.' Old men were foolish to embark on projects they were never going to finish, an opinion apparently shared by the late Duchess of Marlborough although Wortley Montagu thought she was little better.[87] At least unlike the Marlboroughs at Blenheim, the more financially-restricted Orkney only made additions and modifications to Cliveden rather than embark on a vastly more expensive new build. Even so, Orkney's architectural legacy to his daughters was problematic. After Orkney's death in 1737, Cliveden was let to Frederick, Prince of Wales by his eldest daughter Anne, 2nd Countess of Orkney and her husband the 4th Earl of Inchiquin. Following the premature death of Frederick in 1751, the Orkneys and Inchiquins continued to try and find tenants as they seem to have struggled with the cost of living at a great house like Cliveden. Although some money came into the family in 1792, most of Cliveden burned down in 1795 and the estate was subsequently sold in the nineteenth century.[88]

III.

Despite their strong pro-Hanoverian credentials, Argyll and Stair's careers after the Hanoverian Succession were characterised by ups and downs, and periods of royal favour and displeasure. This often resulted from taking sides in contentious situations. Examples include Argyll's closeness to George, Prince of Wales (whose relationship with his father

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[86] *Ibid.*
[87] *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, iii., p. 211.
[88] David Wilson, 'The British Augustan Oligarchy in Portraiture: Michael Rysbrack and his Bust of the Earl of Orkney', *The British Art Journal*, vol. 11, no. 2 (2010/2011), p. 56.

became increasingly hostile) during the first years of the Hanoverian monarchy, and Stair's unsuccessful opposition to Walpole in the 1730s. In contrast, Orkney was able to chart a steady, if understated, course through the political waters during his years as a courtier. His *ODNB* entry quite rightly dubs him 'an influential spectator' rather than 'a vigorous and proactive political leader'.[89] However, considering Orkney's associates during the last years of Anne's reign, his continued royal favour after 1714 was by no means a sure thing. For example, Orkney built up an amicable relationship with Marlborough's replacement as Captain-General, the 2nd Duke of Ormonde, Jonathan Swift making multiple references to dining with the two soldiers in 1712-1713.[90] Similarly, Orkney readily attempted to profit from Oxford's ministry, writing to Oxford in June 1711 to lobby for a British peerage and in June 1712 with hopes he might be made Master-General of the Ordnance when the incumbent (Lord Rivers) died.[91] Likewise, Orkney became the subject of overtures from Oxford and was made Governor of Edinburgh Castle in March 1714 (at the expense of Argyll) as part of Oxford's attempts to win him over. However, his allegiance to Oxford's ministry was never particularly firm and his parliamentary activities suggest a more Whiggish persona by the time of Anne's death.[92]

Beyond newspaper reports, it is difficult to follow Orkney's movements particularly closely in the period immediately following the Hanoverian Succession as he is often a background figure in the correspondence of the period. Nevertheless, the facts suggest that Orkney had to work his way into George I's favour. Before George even set foot in England, the Earls of Dorset and Berkeley were made Gentlemen of the Bedchamber. On 16 October nine more were added: Kent, Richmond, Grafton, Lincoln, Selkirk (Orkney's brother),

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[89] Smith, 'Hamilton, George, First Earl of Orkney', *ODNB*.
[90] Swift, *Journal to Stella*, pp. 473, 484-485, 491, 501, 528. Orkney also referred to one such dinner in a letter dated 8 March 1711, see NLS, MS. 1033, fol. 87.
[91] *HMC Portland*, v., pp. 5, 182.
[92] For Orkney and Lady Orkney's political activities from 1710 to 1714, see *HoL 1660-1715*, v., pp. 686-689.

Manchester, Orrery, Stair, and Carteret. Orkney himself had to wait until 25 October to be added to the list when he was added as a supernumerary Gentleman (that is, one with a place but no salary).[93] By the end of June 1716, when tensions between the King and Prince of Wales were rising and the Duke of Argyll was losing his hold on his civil and military appointments, a report in *The Flying-Post* claimed that not only Argyll's minion Orrery but also Selkirk and Orkney were to be turfed out of their positions in the King's bedchamber. Whatever happened, Orkney was ultimately able to maintain his foothold and on 6 July 1716 became a full Gentleman of the Bedchamber after the Duke of Kent was promoted to the Lord Stewardship.[94] From then on, Orkney's courtier career under George I blossomed. His hosting of the monarch for dinner at Cliveden has already been noted in chapter two. Orkney was also in attendance at the premiere of Handel's *Water Music* on the Thames in July 1717 where he and a group of noble ladies accompanied the King on his barge.[95] Orkney in his middle age thus seems to have found a niche as an affable, innocuous courtier rather than being caught up in the political and ministerial strife engulfing some of his fellow military men such as Stanhope, Cadogan, and Argyll.

This characterisation of Orkney as amiable and unassuming chimes with David Wilson's analysis of the portrait bust of Orkney carved for him in c. 1733 by the Flemish sculptor Rysbrack (fig. 5.8).[96] The ageing Orkney was depicted in the bust as a Roman commander in a military cuirass. However, even though Orkney was the senior general in the British army by this point, the bust portrays him as a 'loyal subordinate' centurion rather than as an 'ultimate military commander' as Rysbrack depicted both Marlborough and William III in his busts of those soldiers. Wilson argues that Orkney's acquiescence to being

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[93] Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, pp. 59-60; 'The Bedchamber: Gentlemen of the Bedchamber', in R. O. Bucholz (ed.), *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (Revised), Court Officers, 1660-1837* (London, 2006), pp. 14-19, BHO.
[94] *The Flying-Post or, The Post-Master*, no. 3820 (28 June 1716); Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, p. 251; 'The Bedchamber: Gentlemen of the Bedchamber', pp. 14-19, BHO.
[95] *The Daily Courant*, no. 4913 (19 July 1717).
[96] Wilson, 'The British Augustan Oligarchy in Portraiture', pp. 43-61.

depicted as a subordinate officer 'reflects a considerable degree of self-effacement and reserve that were characteristic of the man and in keeping with the ideal of civic virtue.'[97] However, it would be wrong to reduce Orkney to a virtuous and unambitious caricature. Both during periods of war and peace, Orkney pressed his claims to senior military positions. For example, an exasperated Marlborough complained to Godolphin in July 1710 that, not only had Orkney been continuing to apply pressure with regards to obtaining a British peerage, he was also behaving most unreasonably and wanted military promotion to general of foot which Marlborough thought impossible.[98] Orkney in fact got his promotion the following May, though how Marlborough was persuaded about this (or overridden) is unclear. Even in his old age, Orkney evidently still had ambitions for his military career. As a correspondent wrote to Duncan Forbes, Lord Culloden on 23 July 1726, many senior officers were jostling for the colonelcy of Cadogan's regiment of foot guards following his recent death. This included Orkney who had been lobbying George I and his ministers for the regiment, but was struggling to secure any promises in light of the King's rejection of the doctrine of seniority.[99] Ultimately Orkney was disappointed and the regiment went to Cadogan's follower and victor over the Jacobites at the battle of Preston, Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Wills, although at the beginning of 1736 Orkney was (along with Argyll) promoted to the new rank of field marshal.

If Marlborough's relationship with Orkney could be sometimes strained or distant, this was nothing compared to Marlborough's personal and professional relationship with Argyll. Although Marlborough always considered Argyll 'very hote headed', initially the two men enjoyed a cordial relationship. Argyll, then twenty-three, gave Marlborough in October 1703 'great assurances of his duty to the Queen, that he shall always desire to be governed

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[97] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[98] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, iii., p. 1556.
[99] *More Culloden Papers*, iii., p. 6.

be mee', and Marlborough wrote in the late summer of 1706 that Argyll 'has behaved himself all this campagne with great willingness and corage.'[100] Even as late as October 1709, Marlborough wrote to Godolphin that 'I have reason to be extreamly satisfied of his friendship to me, so that I am sure you will be kind to him, and I will be answerable he will always behave himself well', also sending a letter to the Queen around this time recommending Argyll for the Order of the Garter.[101] However, by 1710 Marlborough and Argyll's relationship had become fraught and rivalrous. Marlborough admitted in March 1710 that he had come to regret recommending Argyll for the Garter and 'I cannot have a worse opinion of anybody then I have [of] 221 [Argyll], but what is passed can't be helped.'[102] Beyond general political and military rivalry, the exact reason for the dispute between the two men is rather murky, although their fractious relationship was well-known and commented on by figures such as Lady Cowper, Jonathan Swift, and Peter Wentworth.[103] Similarly, whilst there is no evidence to suggest that the Marlborough-backed assassination plot which Argyll was warned of around 1715 was anything other than fiction, the anonymous author of the letter that informed Argyll about the plan to murder him on his way to Edinburgh must have been aware (and was hoping to take advantage) of the distrust between Marlborough and Argyll.[104]

At the same time, it would be wrong to reduce Marlborough and Argyll's relationship after 1710 to one of permanent hatred. For example, there were reports around the time of the Hanoverian Succession that Marlborough and Argyll had resolved their

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[100] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, i., pp. 256-257, ii., p. 659.
[101] *Ibid.*, iii., p. 1398.
[102] *Ibid.*, iii., p. 1434.
[103] Cowper, *Diary of Mary Countess Cowper*, pp. 57-59; Jonathan Swift, 'Memoirs Relating to that Change Which Happened in the Queen's Ministry in the Year 1710', in Deane Swift (ed.), *The Works of Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's Dublin* (3 vols., London, 1765), i., pp. 11-12; *The Wentworth Papers*, pp. 146-147.
[104] NRS, GD224/935/10.

differences.[105] Whilst these may have simply been instances of papering over the cracks in order to display some sense of unity in the new administration, two letters from Marlborough to the Duchess of Argyll dating from c. 1720, one of which contained a dinner invitation,[106] suggest that by the twilight of Marlborough's life relations were more cordial. The exact nature of Marlborough and Argyll's political relationship is difficult to determine in these latter years, particularly as Marlborough was dogged by ill health from May 1716 onwards due to multiple debilitating strokes and he faded from the forefront of political life. Nevertheless, when his health allowed him, the Captain-General maintained his public profile. In one of his letters to the Duchess of Argyll, Marlborough wrote that 'I was at Leister fields for the first time but now will be more at home', referring to George, Prince of Wales's court at Leicester House.[107] With their relationship with government at a low ebb by 1720 (thanks in part to Sarah's abrasiveness),[108] the Marlboroughs certainly paid visits to the Prince of Wales's lodge at Richmond in July 1720. Whilst George I and his son had officially patched up their tattered relationship in April 1720 in what George II's *ODNB* entry refers to as 'a cold and taciturn audience',[109] the Marlboroughs' visits to the Prince were still viewed with suspicion by ministers. James Craggs the Younger reported to Stanhope in July 1720 that, amongst other things:

> the Duke expressed himself with bitterness, saying that, although he did not expect to recover his health and strength to the degree he formerly enjoyed it, he found himself well enough to make those people's heart ache who had been waiting for his spoils [referring to rumours that Sunderland was going to deprive Marlborough of his posts and give them to Cadogan and Stanhope]. He complimented the Prince extremely upon his military capacity, and advised him, whenever he wore the Crown, never to have a Captain-General.[110]

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[105] *More Culloden Papers*, ii., p. 45; *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 422.
[106] NRS, GD24/5/74 (Papers of the family of Stirling Home Drummond Moray of Abercairny, Perthshire). One of the letters refers to Argyll's daughters which places it at least c. 1720.
[107] *Ibid.*
[108] For example, Sarah became very hostile towards her former son-in-law Sunderland when he remarried in late 1717, see Harris, *A Passion for Government*, pp. 219-220.
[109] John Cannon, 'George II (1683-1760)', *ODNB*.
[110] Quoted in Philip Henry Stanhope Earl Stanhope, *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles. 1713-1783*, 3rd edn. (7 vols., London, 1853-1854), ii., appendix, p. xciii. For

Argyll also cut an oppositional figure by this point, although for quite different reasons. Previously very close to the Prince of Wales as his Groom of the Stole (from which he was dismissed on the King's orders in 1716), Argyll was lured back to the government's side in February 1719. Prince George was unsurprisingly annoyed by this. Following the royal reconciliation, Argyll was amongst those dismissed from their positions to appease the Prince of Wales's anger towards those who had abandoned him, although Walpole's need to use the Argathelian interest to manage Scotland meant Argyll's dismissal was only temporary, and he was rehabilitated by July 1721.[111] In other words, Marlborough's final years saw a period where both he and Argyll were out of favour with the ministry. However, unlike Marlborough, Argyll's relationship with the Prince of Wales was also poor at this point and never seems to have recovered, Lord Hervey remarking in his memoirs of the year 1737 how much George II disliked Argyll.[112]

Whatever the exact nature of her husband's relationship with Argyll by the end of his life, the Duchess of Marlborough thought fit to lobby Argyll in the spring of 1721. This lobbying formed part of her large-scale canvassing campaign to win support from peers for the upcoming House of Lords appeal about the debt arising from the construction of Blenheim Palace. Sarah wrote to the Duchess of Argyll, who she knew from their days at Queen Anne's court, on 8 April with her case (which argued that the Duke of Marlborough was not liable for paying the debt) and hoped to persuade Argyll and his brother Ilay with it:

> not having the honour to bee acquainted either with the Duke of Argyll nor with the Earl of Ilay I take the liberty to address this to your Grace, & from the kindness you have long ago expressed to me, & to my family, I promise my self, you will have so much goodnesse as to prevail with those lords to take the trouble of reading this

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more on the Marlboroughs' visits to Richmond in 1720, see Harris, *A Passion for Government*, pp. 229-230.

[111] Hatton, *George I: Elector and King*, pp. 243, 246; Riley, *The English Ministers and Scotland*, pp. 268, 271-272.

[112] Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, iii., p. 708.

> long paper, not only because it relates to the Duke of Marlborough but because it concerns that Justice & Equity to which every subject has the same right,[113]

The Duchess of Argyll apparently sent an obliging reply and, in another letter, Sarah pushed home the point, saying that she was sending her outline of the case 'to perticular friends & such as are of consiquence to comment, I have often heard that nobody is a better Judge of the law then my lord Ilay'.[114] This corroborates Frances Harris's point that Sarah concentrated particularly on winning over peers who had influential legal experience,[115] and, as Ilay and Argyll were a political duo, it was natural to lobby both of them in the same letter. Sarah received cordial messages from Argyll and Ilay, cynically remarking that 'it was not impossible that they might take a fancy to bee Just, where there was nothing in the cause that would lessen their profit or power'.[116] However, despite Sarah's best efforts, neither Argyll nor Ilay were among the twenty-five peers who voted for Marlborough, which included Cadogan, Stair, and Orkney,[117] and so it would be unwise to push this idea of a reconciliation too far.

IV.

Although Argyll and Marlborough had a complicated and sometimes acrimonious relationship, this did not stop Argyll from adding a new estate to his portfolio in July 1717 which was only about fifteen miles from Marlborough's house at Woodstock. This was the seventeenth-century house of Adderbury in Oxfordshire which Nicholas Allen proposes was principally acquired as a hunting lodge for Argyll.[118] Richard Hewlings espouses a different view, suggesting that the timing of Argyll's marriage to Jane Warburton in June 1717 is

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[113] NRS, GD24/5/79.
[114] *Ibid.*
[115] Harris, 'Parliament and Blenheim Palace', p. 51.
[116] Quoted in *Ibid.*
[117] The hearing began on 23 May but the Marlboroughs ended up losing the vote by 43 to 25, see *Ibid.*, pp. 56-58.
[118] Steven D. G. Weaver and Nicholas Allen, 'Post-Medieval Buildings and Medieval Features at Adderbury House, Adderbury, 1996', *Oxoniensia*, vol. 71 (2006), p. 414.

important. Adderbury was perhaps designed as a dower house for Jane which would have been left to her in Argyll's will whilst the rest of his estate went to an anticipated son (though in the event the couple had only daughters).[119]

Work began quickly at Adderbury and continued over an extended period of time. The old house was remodelled probably by the Oxford mason William Townesend in 1722-1724 and two flanking wings, one containing a gallery near 80-feet long, were erected by the architect Roger Morris from 1731. Other proposed schemes included a new entrance front with portico designed by James Gibbs in c. 1725-1730 (unexecuted), and a variety of garden buildings designed by both Morris and Gibbs of which it is unclear how many (if any) were built.[120] Whilst Argyll and his designers clearly put a lot of architectural effort into Adderbury, it does not appear to have made too great an impact on contemporaries despite Argyll's military and political stature. Even Sir John Vanbrugh, who one would expect to be familiar with the building projects of the Whig elite, had to apologise to the Earl of Carlisle in February 1724 for erroneously referring on a previous occasion to 'my Lord Stairs's building in Oxfordshire. But 'tis the Duke of Argyle who has done there what I thought was my Lord Stairs's.'[121]

Adderbury served as a place of retirement for Argyll and his wife Jane. As he wrote to her from Scotland one summer before his break with Walpole, 'I have writt to day to Will Stuart to know if Sr Robert [Walpole] will permitt me to have the Pleasure of your meeting me at Adderbury or if I must Absolutely return to London before I have leave to pass some

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[119] Richard Hewlings, 'Adderbury House', in Malcolm Airs (ed.), *Baroque and Palladian: The Early Eighteenth Century Great House* (Oxford, 1996), p. 125.
[120] *Ibid.*, pp. 123-172; Brooks and Sherwood, *Oxfordshire: North and West*, pp. 79-81. For Gibbs, Morris, and Townesend, see Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 416-425, 705-710, 1048-1051. A 1743 description of Adderbury's grounds made no reference to a proliferation of garden seats, see Salmon, *The Present State of the Universities and of the Five Adjacent Counties*, pp. 14-15.
[121] Vanbrugh, *Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, iv., pp. 157-158.

time there, the Moment I receive his answer you shall know ye Contents of it'.[122] Argyll's wish to buy up and demolish nearby cottages and barns which were 'extremely offensive & Incommodious to the House Gardens and policy' was attested to by his daughter Caroline in 1761. Although the relevant properties were unable to be acquired until after Argyll's death, the intention suggests Argyll's desire to build a place of quiet rural solitude. However, it may be that there is more to Adderbury than immediately meets the eye. Whether Argyll was trying to articulate a particular political programme at Adderbury in the same way that, for instance, Lord Cobham did at Stowe is a question that has been addressed by Malcolm Baker.[123] The gallery at Adderbury built in the 1730s was described in June 1740 by the antiquary John Loveday as being 'high finished with all Elegance & equal grandeur; 'tis hung with green Damask; has 2 Chimnies in it; the Chimney-pieces supported by Caryatides; the Bust of the Duke in an Oval over one Chimney-piece, as that of his Dutchess is over the other; so the King's & Queen's Busts are over the Chimney-pieces in the new Library in St James's Park'. The busts of the Duke and Duchess of Argyll were complemented by busts of the seventeenth-century French generals the Prince of Condé and Turenne, Julius Caesar, Oliver Cromwell, Edward the Black Prince, and Alexander the Great.[124]

As Baker points out, these busts – a mixture of genuine antiques and modern casts by Rysbrack and Roubiliac, give at first glance a strong military impression. Argyll was placed in the context of a variety of famous military commanders from antiquity as well as English and French history. In addition, Morris's original drawings for the gallery depict an unexecuted statue of an ancient warrior.[125] However, as Baker goes on argue, such a reading of the gallery as merely militaristic would be superficial. In reality, the proposed statue of an ancient warrior was replaced by a more placid sculpture of either Ceres or Flora, and the

[122] NRS, GD24/5/90.
[123] Baker, *Figured in Marble*, pp. 129-143.
[124] Loveday, *The Tours of John Loveday of Caversham*, p. 396.
[125] Baker, *Figured in Marble*, p. 138, pl. 109.

bust of Argyll was dressed in a statesman's toga, not a military cuirass (unlike the bust of Orkney carved around this time). Thus, Argyll's sculpture programme at Adderbury celebrated Argyll as a military commander in a 'rather less overt way' than, for example, Marlborough had done at Blenheim.[126] Admittedly, Baker's explanation for this is problematic. For example, his idea that Argyll toned down his gallery's martial imagery in the early 1730s because of wider unease and hostility towards standing armies hardly resonates with how Argyll is depicted in contemporary sources. For instance, in Lord Hervey's memoirs Argyll comes across as a fiery military man lacking any of the meekness and sensitivity which Baker's hypothesis relies on, and who was quick to defend his profession's honour. For example, in 1737 Argyll was enraged by comments of Walpole's 'which had been represented to the Duke of Argyll by some in a way as if Sir Robert Walpole had called the military officers pitiful fellows, and by others as if he had said that a Minister must be a pitiful fellow, who would suffer military men to meddle out of their province, and concern themselves with civil affairs.'[127] Nevertheless, Baker is right to point out the ambiguity of Argyll's scheme, and the role that Argyll himself would have played in discussing the gallery's busts with visitors rather than simply relying on fixed textual inscriptions.[128]

Orkney's Cliveden and Stair's Newliston and Castle Kennedy also contain elements of military commemoration, although in both cases the historian must be vigilant in separating fact from myth. Like the 'invented traditions' highlighted by Eric Hobsbawm,[129] the militarism of both Orkney and Stair's estates have been exaggerated by nineteenth-century authors attempting to link surviving landscape features with the martial past of their earlier eighteenth-century owners and thus create a sense of continuity. For example, whilst a

[126] *Ibid.*, pp. 138-140.
[127] *Ibid.*, pp. 140-142; Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, iii., p. 707.
[128] Baker, *Figured in Marble*, pp. 142-143.
[129] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, new edn. (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 1-14.

topographical dictionary in 1831 claimed that Orkney 'indulged in the curious fancy of fighting the battle of Blenheim, by plantations of trees, now in full vigour', more recent guides to Cliveden emphasise that there is no documentary evidence for this. Similarly, the 'Queen Anne's Vase' which was supposedly a gift from the Queen to Orkney probably dates from later in the eighteenth century due to stylistic considerations.[130] A more credible piece of commemoration is Giacomo Leoni's 'Blenheim Pavilion' built in the grounds at Cliveden probably in the late 1720s or early 1730s. Whilst there is no evidence to prove the use of its current name in Orkney's day, the pavilion carries military connotations (such as representations of weapons and armour carved into the triangular pediment), leading Gervase Jackson-Stops to suggest that it may have always been known as such.[131] Military commemoration also played a part inside the house, be that the bust of Orkney as a Roman soldier by Rysbrack already discussed, or the four battle tapestries from the Flemish *Art of War* series acquired by Orkney and personalised with his coat of arms.

Whilst the *Art of War* tapestries (discussed in chapter one) depicted generic unspecified military scenes, they evidently quickly became adapted in some households to represent particular battles. This suggests that mythmaking was not just a nineteenth-century phenomenon and could also arise within owners' lifetimes. The four Cliveden tapestries, *Campement*, *Embuscade*, *Attaque*, and *La Marche* were seen by John Loveday who wrote in 1734:

> I know no Tapestry that excells Lord Orkney's; 'twas made at Brussels on purpose for him; the Colours are extremely lively, yet that is the least Commendation of the Arras. 'Tis of the Siege of Lisle, of the Battle in the Wood &c; in the latter, the old Miller that was so good a friend to the English, is sitting smoaking his Pipe. In another Piece of Tapestry the Duke of Marlborough is too well described not to be known by any that had ever seen his Picture.[132]

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[130] Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England* (4 vols., London, 1831), iv., p. 266; National Trust, *Cliveden*, pp. 15, 72.
[131] Jackson-Stops, 'The Cliveden Album', p. 9, figs. 6-7.
[132] Loveday, *The Tours of John Loveday of Caversham*, p. 247. Similarly, in 1742 Jeremiah Milles visited Cliveden and referred to 'a sett of Brussels tapestry y^{t} were made for y^{t} Lord [Orkney] representing

Another *Art of War* set could be found at Stowe. Sir John Evelyn, 1st Baronet visited Stowe in May 1725 and described 'hangings representing the battle of Blaregnies [Malplaquet] in the wood near Mons, in which Lord Cobham was, [being] fought 31 Augt 1709.' Stowe historian George B. Clarke notes that, despite the generality of the *Art of War* set, by the time of Evelyn's visit 'clearly the legend was already being fostered at Stowe that one of the pieces represented a particular incident in the Flanders campaigns in which Cobham himself was involved.'[133] Admittedly, some of this personalisation may have been grounded in truth. As Richard Johns points out, the Duke of Marlborough customised his version of *La Marche* at Blenheim with his own portrait being inserted into the tapestry.[134] It is possible that Orkney emulated this customisation in his version of *La Marche* at Cliveden, hence Loveday's insistence that one of the tapestry pieces depicted Marlborough. Nevertheless, going by visitors' interpretations of these generic scenes as specific actions from the War of Spanish Succession, there was clearly some mythmaking in play. Furthermore, it is probable that visitors were assisted in their understanding of these battle tapestries by their owners or the house's servants, suggesting there was an initiative on the part of households to tie these generic scenes to their masters' real-world battle experiences.

Like Cliveden, Stair's estates at Newliston and Castle Kennedy have had their military symbolism exaggerated. One writer in the 1840s claimed that Stair's plantations at Newliston were done according to a plan of the battle of Dettingen, something dismissed by the editor of Stair's papers thirty years later (along with similar uncorroborated claims about the woods at Castle Kennedy).[135] Again however, there were some real elements of military

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the Duke of Marlboroughs battels', see BL, Add MS 15776 (Journals of the Rev. Jeremiah Milles, of his travels in different parts of England and Wales), fol. 119.

[133] *Descriptions of Lord Cobham's Gardens at Stowe*, pp. 20-21.

[134] Johns, '"The British Caesar"', p. 335.

[135] Thomas Dick Lauder, *Sir Uvedale Price on the Picturesque: With an Essay on the Origin of Taste, and Much Original Matter* (Edinburgh and London, 1842), p. 170; *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., p. 162.

commemoration. The very fabric of both the gardens at Newliston and Castle Kennedy were replete with bastions, heights, and embankments that Stair, assisted by William Adam, carved out of the earth, giving both places a fortified feel.[136] Similarly, whilst the tradition that soldiers from one of Stair's dragoon regiments were used to create the landscape at Castle Kennedy is unsubstantiated,[137] it is true that there was a strong dragoon presence on the estate as the men and horses used to be quartered there. The use of the parks and farmland surrounding Castle Kennedy for both agriculture and military garrison was not always a harmonious scene. One of Stair's agents wrote to him on 27 April 1731 that 'I am afraid it will be troublesome to keep the dragoon horses in these parks, for they do not value the dykes much, and if they break over they will ruin all the tenants' corns.'[138]

Even if the horsemen did not carve Stair's terraces and embankments, their officers were certainly able to act as supervisors on the estate. The 4th Earl of Balcarres (a nephew of the Countess of Stair) was a major in Stair's Enniskillen Dragoons in the early 1730s and in March 1732 wrote to Stair from nearby Stranraer not only reporting on the state of the regiment but also on Castle Kennedy itself. Balcarres drew attention to the progress of the garden works, the health of the gardeners, as well as the state of a farm, cotton manufactory, and prospective new lead mine.[139] Stair was not unique in this blurring of regimental and estate life – for instance, at Rousham in Oxfordshire Lieutenant-General James Dormer was asked by his steward in 1738 whether a horse could be spared from his troop of Horse Grenadier Guards to assist with the ongoing landscape works.[140] Stair also named features and animals to commemorate individuals and events as two of his horses at

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[136] For descriptions of Castle Kennedy and Newliston, see *Ibid.*, ii., pp. 161-163; A. G. L. Hellyer, 'A Garden with a Military Origin: Lochinch and Castle Kennedy', *Country Life*, vol. 150, no. 3870 (12 August 1971), pp. 384-386; Tait, *The Landscape Garden in Scotland*, pp. 12-17, 254.
[137] As mentioned in Hellyer, 'A Garden with a Military Origin', p. 384; Jean O'Neill, 'Battle Gardens and Plantations', *Country Life*, vol. 170, no. 4400 (17 December 1981), p. 2167.
[138] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., p. 184.
[139] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 192.
[140] Ulrich Müller, 'Rousham: A Transcription of the Steward's Letters, 1738-42', *Garden History*, vol. 35, no. 2 (Winter 1997), p. 181.

the time of his death were named Dettingen and Marlborough.[141] A hillock at Castle Kennedy was also named after Marlborough, Stair's gardener Thomas M'Calla writing in 1738 of 'mount malborou and mount Eliner', the latter referring to Stair's wife Eleanor.[142] The tree avenue now known as Dettingen avenue may therefore also date from this period.

v.

Whilst the subject of this chapter is three Scottish army officers, it is not three Scottish estates. For the Scottish-born Orkney, a younger son not to inherit any property in the country, there was increasingly little apart from familial ties attaching him to his birthplace. Indeed, even when opportunities arose to be more involved in Scottish affairs he did not follow them through. For instance, following the death in September 1705 of the commander-in-chief in Scotland, Lieutenant-General George Ramsay, Marlborough wrote to Godolphin on the topic of Ramsay's replacement and noted that Orkney had specifically told him 'that he should not desire to go into Scotland.'[143] Orkney equally showed little enthusiasm for buying land in Scotland. Whilst one newspaper reported on 3 October 1719 that Orkney was to purchase the forfeited Scottish estates in Forfarshire of his Jacobite brother-in-law, the 4th Earl of Panmure, this proposal was evidently abandoned or was a false report.[144]

As one of the major landowners in Scotland, Argyll was in a completely different position to Orkney. However, whilst business of one sort or another of course necessitated journeys to Scotland, Argyll's attention when it came to country seats was generally more focused towards England. Examples include his villa of Sudbrook in Petersham, Surrey designed by James Gibbs and near Argyll's birthplace at Ham House (and where Argyll died

[141] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., p. 459.
[142] Quoted in Lauder, *Sir Uvedale Price on the Picturesque*, p. 172.
[143] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, i., p. 500.
[144] *The Original Weekly Journal* (3 October 1719).

in 1743),[145] as well as his country house at Adderbury already discussed.[146] That is not to say Argyll had no interest in his Scottish residences. For example, at the main family seat of Inveraray in Argyllshire (which was later to be completely rebuilt by his brother and heir, Ilay, and the architect Roger Morris) Argyll commissioned the construction of a two-storey house known as 'the pavilion' in the early 1720s. Ian G. Lindsay and Mary Cosh argue this was 'regarded as temporary accommodation until certain elaborate projects for either restoring or rebuilding the old [fifteenth-century] castle should be carried out.'[147] Certainly, Vanbrugh drew up a rough sketch of a new gothic castle for Inveraray in c. 1720 for Argyll (fig. 5.9) which, whilst only half the size of the castle erected by the 3rd Duke (as Ilay became) decades later, was clearly the origin of the realised project and 'it can hardly be doubted that Morris had seen the sketch itself, or a drawing based upon it.'[148] Additionally, in 1739 Argyll purchased the late seventeenth-century Royston House near Edinburgh. Argyll quickly renamed it Caroline Park after his eldest daughter and set about making it a modern family residence with easy access to the capital. As he wrote to his wife, 'now I set to work to put Caroline Park in such order as to receive you Next Spring & by means of the little House Which I last Purchassd I can doe it with ease'. William Adam was subsequently employed in 1740-1742 to add a new domestic block and carry out various internal and garden works.[149]

Whilst Orkney settled in England and Argyll had a multitude of landed interests on both sides of the border, the Scottish estates that Stair inherited from his parents became his home for much of the rest of his life following his return from Paris in June 1720. Despite

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[145] For Sudbrook, see James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments* (London, 1728), p. xi., pl. 40. Gibbs dedicated his *Book of Architecture* to his patron Argyll.
[146] Argyll also acquired a seat in Hampstead called Caen Wood in 1712 although he seems to have rarely used it, see Mary Cosh, 'Two Dukes and Their Houses', *Country Life*, vol. 152, no. 3917 (13 July 1972), pp. 78-79. He also owned property in London.
[147] Ian G. Lindsay and Mary Cosh, *Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll* (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 25.
[148] John Vanbrugh and Edward Lovett Pearce, *Architectural Drawings in the Library of Elton Hall by Sir John Vanbrugh and Sir Edward Lovett Pearce*, eds. Howard Colvin and Maurice Craig (Oxford, 1964), pp. xxxvii-xxxviii, pl. 36b.
[149] NRS, GD24/5/90; Cosh, 'Two Dukes and Their Houses', p. 81.

Stair's political hardships such as the rather ignominious end to his French embassy and the failure of his opposition to Walpole in the 1730s, as an old man (fig. 5.10) he seems to have ended his life at his ancestral Scottish estates quite happily. Writing on 13 October 1744 to the 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, Secretary of State for Scotland, to announce his election as a representative peer, Stair added: 'I find I grow fonder Every day of the Amusements of a Countrey Life which Inclines me to stay as Long In this countrey as I possibly can but If my Little services can be usefull to His Majesty I shal be ready to Obey his Commands'.[150] Stair's country 'Amusements' no doubt referred to the ambitious programme of gardening and agricultural improvement which, as has been seen, he so enthusiastically engaged in.

The image of the patriot Stair, wholesomely toiling in the fields yet ready to come to the aid of his country when needed, was played upon by friends and poets, with the classical figure of Cincinnatus being an obvious parallel. Whilst Stair was in Scotland in the summer of 1734, his political allies in London such as the 4th Earl of Chesterfield beseeched him not to retire into obscurity upon the failure of Stair's scheme to see a slate of opposition Scottish representative peers elected at the recent election.[151] The anti-Walpole MP William Pulteney (later 1st Earl of Bath) wrote to Stair on 15 June and hoped 'you are not so riveted to your plough, as you call it, but that, like Quintus Cincinnatus, you can leave it when the service of your country calls upon you.'[152] Similarly, the poet Samuel Boyse cited Cincinnatus in his 1734 ode to Stair's estate at Castle Kennedy. Boyse wrote that Stair had a crucial part to play in the opposition to Walpole's ministry before he could retire to Castle Kennedy's idyllic solitude. If Britain was as uncorrupt as Rome was in Cincinnatus's day, 'Pleas'd might you guide the patrimonial plow,/ But oh! her safety contradicts the wish,/ Demands your counsel and retards my bliss.' Only once Stair's political duty had been fulfilled could he

[150] NLS, MS. 7064 (Hay of Yester papers), fol. 23.
[151] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., p. 219.
[152] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 221.

finally return to Castle Kennedy 'In quiet wait fair life's declining ray,/ The certain promise of a brighter day!'[153] Despite such sentiments, Stair spent most of the remainder of Walpole's premiership in Scotland although he was kept abreast of developments in England by friends such as the dowager Duchess of Marlborough.[154]

Stair himself, either consciously or subconsciously, played up to this virtuous Cincinnatus image. On 4 September 1743, Stair resigned from his army command feeling that his advice, be that how to press home the advantage after the battle of Dettingen in June or his recommendations for vacant army posts, was being ignored. In his resignation letter to the King, Stair wrote that he hoped 'your Majesty will give me leave to retire to my plough without any mark of your displeasure.'[155] Only a couple of months later, an anonymous manuscript poem *On Lord Stair's Resignation* wrote of Stair's taking up of the command in 1742 that 'Again Britannia's welfare fired thy breast,/ And made thee for its good forsake thy rest./ What else could tempt thee from thy rural fields,/ Thy plough, those joys that sweet retirement yields?'[156] At the same time, whilst Stair may have professed to his friends his desire to enjoy quiet retirement in Scotland, his ego in military affairs remained very sensitive, writing to the Duke of Newcastle in February 1744 that he had just seen the list of general officers charged with commanding troops should the French invade. Aghast at the absence of his own name (despite the fact he was now seventy), Stair haughtily assumed 'that I have only been forgot at this present juncture, when I must say, if there was any thing to be done against the French's landing in England, I know as much of what is necessary to be done upon that occasion as any of the general officers who are named in the above mention'd list.'[157]

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[153] Boyse, 'Loch Rian', p. 270.
[154] Harris, *A Passion for Government*, p. 316.
[155] *Annals and Correspondence of… Stair*, ii., p. 454-456.
[156] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 457.
[157] *HMC Denbigh*, pp. 244-245. On 24 February Stair was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces in South Britain.

Despite their differences, Argyll, Orkney, and Stair are united by a number of common themes. Serving in what was effectively already a British army (a union formalised after 1707), they all forged relationships, of varying amiability to say the least, with their Captain-General Marlborough, and all sought to integrate themselves into the new British elite, in part through the acquisition of British peerages although only Argyll was successful in this respect. All were keen builders or improvers at their estates, and all seem to have tried to commemorate their careers or articulate their views through their building, gardening, or decoration, although interpretation of some of this iconography remains ambiguous. All three also established themselves as important courtly, diplomatic, and/or political figures, though whilst the cautious Orkney cut an innocuous figure, Argyll and Stair's hotter tempers embroiled them in various factional battles during their careers, and Stair is perhaps better remembered today as an oppositional political figure during the 1730s. The three Scottish soldiers also varied in their wealth and resources – with Argyll dwarfing Orkney and Stair, and in their relationship with Scotland. Argyll was head of the preeminent Scottish landed interest, though much of his country house acquisition and political career in the eighteenth century was based in England, his country of birth. Stair's ancestral interest in Scotland was on a smaller scale but, without the equivalent of Argyll's English estates to keep him occupied, was home in a way that Argyll's Scottish estates were not. In this sense Stair is perhaps the most 'Scottish' of the three. In contrast, Orkney, not an heir to a family estate, had little to connect him to his place of birth beyond familial ties, and his life and career was firmly fixed in England from at least the 1690s. Overall though, despite the differences between them, and the peculiarly Scottish elements or angles that serve to distinguish them from the other senior officers discussed in this thesis, Argyll, Orkney, and Stair integrated into elite British society just like senior English officers did.



Figure 5.1 William Aikman, *John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll and 1st Earl (later Duke) of Greenwich*, c. 1709.



Figure 5.2 Thomas Bardwell, *John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll and 1st Duke of Greenwich*, 1740.



Figure 5.3 Martin Maingaud, *George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney*, 1724.



Figure 5.4 School of Sir Godfrey Kneller, *John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair*, c. 1710?

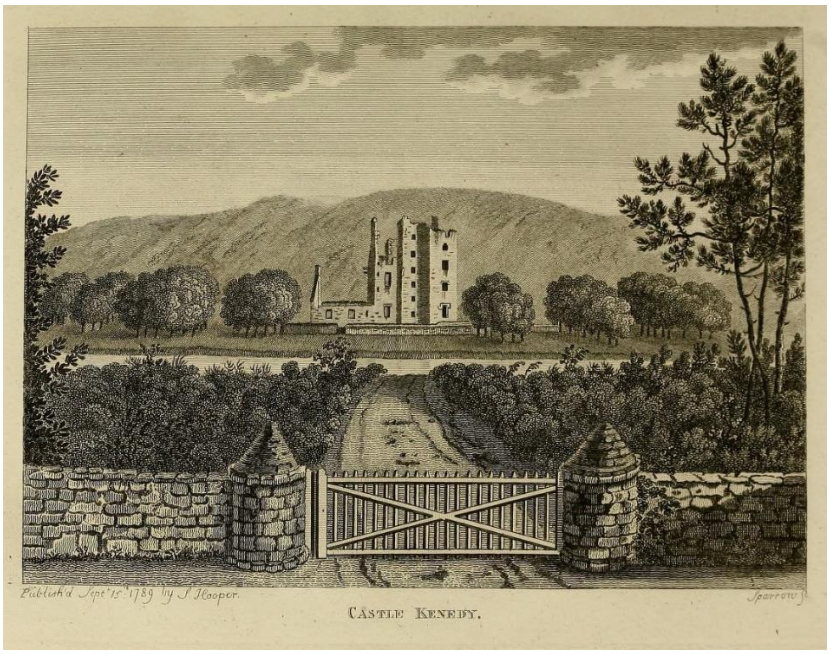

Figure 5.5 Francis Grose, *Castle Kenedy*, in *The Antiquities of Scotland* (2 vols., London, 1789-1791), ii., inserted after p. 190.

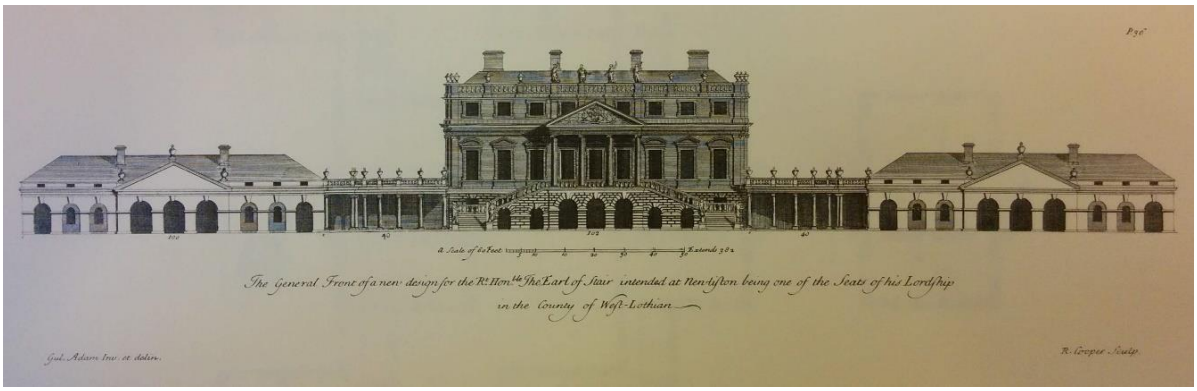

Figure 5.6 William Adam, *The General Front of a new design for the R^t Honble The Earl of Stair intended at Newliston being one of the Seats of his Lordship in the County of West-Lothian*, c. 1725-1735, in *Vitruvius Scoticus* (Edinburgh, 1980), pl. 36.

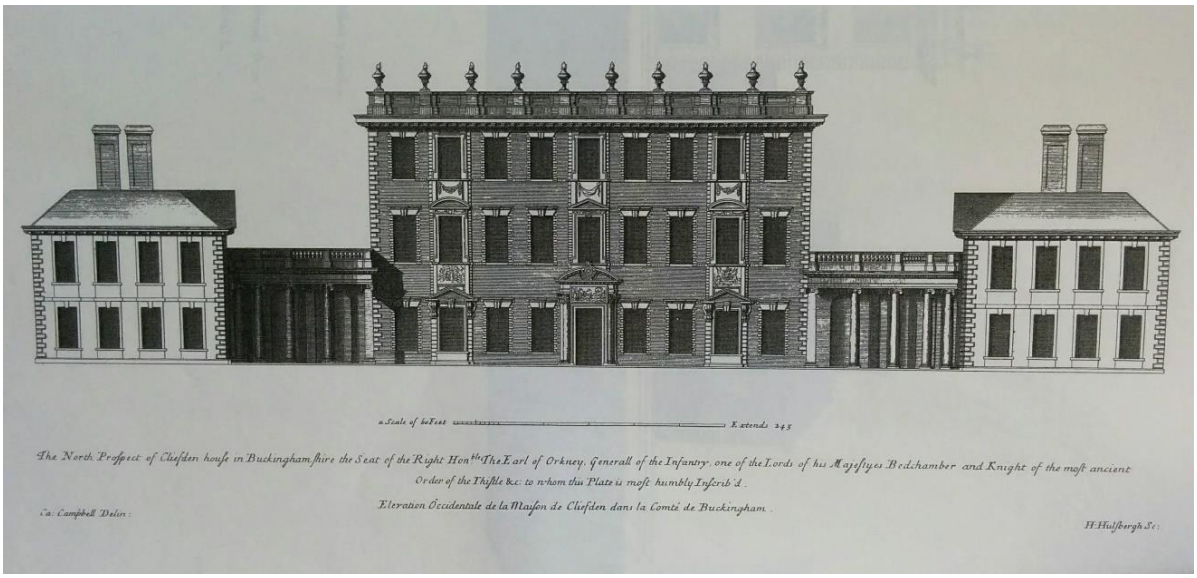

Figure 5.7 Colen Campbell, *The North Prospect of Cliefden house in Buckinghamshire the Seat of the Right Honble The Earl of Orkney… to whom this Plate is most humbly Inscrib'd*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (3 vols., London, 1715-1725), ii., pl. 71-72.



Figure 5.8 John Michael Rysbrack, *George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney*, c. 1733.

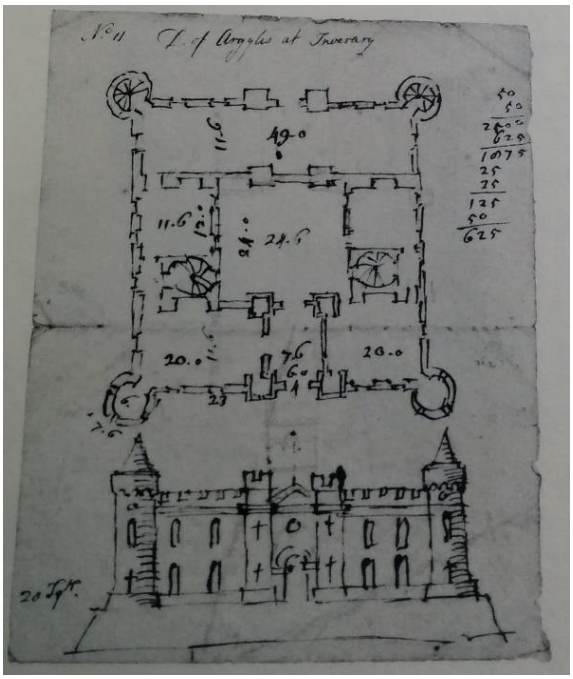

Figure 5.9 Sir John Vanbrugh, *D. of Argyles at Inverary*, c. 1720, in *Architectural Drawings in the Library of Elton Hall* (Oxford, 1964), pl. 36b.



Figure 5.10 Allan Ramsay, *John Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair*, c. 1744.

Chapter Six – A Comparative Perspective:

Senior Navy Officers, Politics, and the Country Estate

According to Geoffrey Holmes, who offers a brief but useful survey of estates purchased by prominent navy officers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries, 'The successful naval officer, like the successful army officer, was usually marked out by his estates.'[1] Examples of this include Admiral Edward Russell, 1st Earl of Orford (1652-1727) (fig. 6.1) who purchased the country estate of Chippenham in Cambridgeshire, his protégé Admiral George Byng, 1st Viscount Torrington (1663-1733) (fig. 6.2) who bought Southill in Bedfordshire, and Vice-Admiral George Delaval (c. 1667-1723) who commissioned Sir John Vanbrugh to build a new house at his recently-acquired estate of Seaton Delaval in Northumberland. Unfortunately for the historian, it is not always easy to ascertain much detail concerning the relationship between these senior navy officers and their country estates. For example, Sir John Norris (c. 1671-1749) (fig. 6.3), one of the most distinguished admirals of the first half of the eighteenth century, acquired the Elizabethan Hemsted Park in Benenden, Kent in (or soon after) 1718. However, almost all of the copious quantity of papers relating to Norris in the British Library relate to navy business, and little of his life or activities at Hemsted, which has since been demolished and rebuilt, can be gleaned from surviving evidence.[2]

Senior navy officers, like their army counterparts, also often had residences in London or estates in its surrounding environs. Walpole's trusted friend and ally Admiral Sir Charles Wager (1666-1743) (fig. 6.4), whilst owning an estate in Cornwall, seems to have preferred life at his house in Parson's Green in Fulham. Admiral Sir John Leake (1656-1720)

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[1] Holmes, *Augustan England*, pp. 284-285. For estates purchased by officers of the Restoration Navy, see Davies, *Gentlemen and Tarpaulins*, pp. 56-57.

[2] The present building is Victorian. Norris was responsible for planting conifers in an area of the park known by the 19th century as the Pinetum, see 'Historic England, Benenden'. Accessed 26 September 2017 at https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000195.

(fig. 6.5) was particularly fond of the house he built in Greenwich where he spent his retirement after the Hanoverian Succession alongside his estate in Surrey. Officers fortunate enough to hold governorships or commissionerships could also enjoy some form of official residence. For example, Admiral Sir John Jennings (1664-1743) (fig. 6.6) served as Governor of Greenwich Hospital and Keeper of Greenwich Park from 1720 until his death. Jennings made use of his official residence at the Hospital,[3] and rumours in July 1721 that 'the King's House at Greenwich [the old Charles II wing] strikes the fancy of a Great Man' caused him to write fearfully to the Groom of the Stole, the 3rd Earl of Sunderland, that the unidentified man's eyes for the Charles II wing posed a threat to Jennings's entire governorship of the Hospital.[4] Jennings in fact retained his grip on the Hospital until his death at Greenwich twenty-two years later, helping to fund the erection of a statue of George II in the Hospital's grounds in 1735.[5] Furthermore, Jennings's official residence did not come at the expense of a place in the country — he owned land in Surrey and acquired the Newsells estate in Barkway, Hertfordshire in 1721.[6] Positions such as Jennings's at Greenwich were essentially civilian, and after a long career at sea some officers evidently found the pace of life in such employments far preferable. Captain Philip Vanbrugh (the brother of the architect) retired from active sea service after a long career in the 1730s and was appointed navy commissioner at Plymouth in 1739. As he remarked to a friend in 1741, the septuagenarian Vice-Admiral John Balchen (1670-1744) 'is here, but no flag hoisted, nor much to do, which gives him much trouble; whereas ease and quiet is most agreeable to me.'[7]

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[3] Initially Jennings lived in the Queen's House but in 1729 the Hospital's governing body decided to provide accommodation in the Charles II wing instead, see George H. Chettle, 'The History of the Queen's House: From 1689', in *Survey of London Monograph 14, The Queen's House, Greenwich* (London, 1937), pp. 47-58, BHO.
[4] BL, Add MS 61588, fol. 197.
[5] Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, p. 130.
[6] Paula Watson, 'Jennings, Sir John (1664-1743), of Byfleet, Surr.', *HoC 1690-1715*.
[7] *A Forgotten John Russell, Being Letters to a Man of Business 1724-1751*, ed. Mary Eyre Matcham (London, 1905), p. 159.

As in the army, some senior navy officers inherited rather than purchased their estates. For example, the Tory Admiral Sir George Rooke (1650-1709) (fig. 6.7) inherited his estate of St Lawrence near Canterbury in Kent from his father, the royalist gentleman Sir William Rooke (1620/1-1691).[8] On a much greater scale, the aristocratic Whig Admiral James Berkeley, Viscount Dursley (c. 1680-1736) (fig. 6.8) became the 3rd Earl of Berkeley on his father's death in September 1710 and inherited the Berkeley estates including 'large Parks, and a very great Estate' in Gloucestershire, the manor of Berkeley alone apparently being worth £30,000 per year.[9] Berkeley went on to rebuild the family seat of Cranford in Middlesex in the early 1720s, possibly to the design of his fellow courtier, the Vice-Chamberlain Thomas Coke,[10] but Berkeley's possession of these estates rested on his great inheritance, not his career at sea.

This chapter is subdivided into five sections. The first considers the elevation of navy officers as peers, whilst the second examines officers' interaction with politics in other ways whilst also highlighting the professional and political divides within the navy, the shifting tides of which could doom the career of an officer such as the Tory Admiral Sir James Wishart (1659-1723). The third section analyses the role estates played as places of retirement for officers from their naval and political careers, and their depiction in panegyrics on various officers. The fourth section considers the aesthetic, dynastic, economic, and political elements of navy officers' country estates with particular reference to the relatively well-documented examples of Byng and Orford, also emphasising that not all senior officers amassed such fortunes as they. Finally, the fifth section focuses on how

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[8] Edward Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent. Containing the Antient and Present State of it, Civil and Ecclesiastical; Collected from Public Records, and Other Authorities: Illustrated with Maps, Views, Antiquities, &c.*, 2nd edn. (12 vols., Canterbury, 1797-1801), xii., pp. 249-251.

[9] Robert Atkyns, *The Ancient and Present State of Glostershire* (London, 1712), pp. 261, 268-269.

[10] Various drawings and accounts relating to Cranford survive in Thomas Coke's architectural papers, see BL, Add MS 69965 (Coke papers (series III)), fols. 4-44. For Coke, see Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*, 4th edn., pp. 268-269.

senior navy officers could commemorate their careers at their estates. The chapter concludes by comparing senior navy officers to the senior army officers discussed in the rest of this thesis, arguing that there were many similiarites in how they sought to interact with and integrate into elite society, but that navy officers' prospects in political and diplomatic careers may have been more limited.

I.

Politics played an important role in senior navy officers' lives and most of them sat in Parliament either in the Commons as MPs (often for one of the boroughs strongly influenced by the Admiralty interest such as Portsmouth) or in the House of Lords as peers. Admittedly, the latter were very few in number. Whilst the awarding of knighthoods to distinguished navy officers was common practice in this period, the elevation of them as peers was much rarer, especially when contrasted with the relatively larger group of navy officers rewarded for their services with peerages in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries.[11] Ignoring those like the 3rd Earl of Berkeley who inherited their titles, only five navy officers were created peers in the sixty years between the start of the Nine Years' War in 1688 and the end of the War of Austrian Succession in 1748. William III gave earldoms to Admirals Arthur Herbert (1648-1716, Earl of Torrington from 1689) and Edward Russell (Earl of Orford from 1697), both key supporters of William during the 1688-9 Revolution. No more navy peerages were created until 1718, when Sir John Norris's father-in-law Admiral Matthew Aylmer (c. 1650-1720) was given an Irish barony as part of a retirement package. In 1721 another navy officer was raised to the peerage when Admiral Sir George Byng (created a baronet in 1715) became Viscount Torrington shortly after returning from the

[11] For example, twelve prominent navy officers who served in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars were given peerages either at the time or later. For more information on this group and its context in a wider 'peerage mania', see Wilson, 'Gentility and Professionalism in the Royal Navy', pp. 288-298.

Mediterranean where he had led a British fleet to victory over the Spanish at the battle of Cape Passaro.[12] After Byng, there was another long hiatus before Vice-Admiral George Anson (1697-1762) was created a baron in 1747 following his successful engagement off Cape Finisterre. Seniority was of great importance in the navy when it came to promotion beyond the rank of captain,[13] and at least in Byng's case this mindfulness of seniority and precedence could also be found in his attitude towards his peerage. As the news broke at the end of August 1721 that the Whig lawyer Nicholas Lechmere was to be made a baron a couple of weeks before Byng's own elevation, Byng's daughter Sarah Osborn wrote to her brother Robert: 'You will be surprised at my father coming to town so soon, but an express came down from Sir George Saunders [a navy officer who had served as Byng's first captain in the Mediterranean] for him, upon Lech[mere] being made a lord, which was contrary to all promises made to him that any should be so till his patent had passed.'[14]

It is clear that other admirals desired peerages, or at least wished to keep their future options open. Sir John Norris and Sir John Jennings, normally loyal to the Stanhope-Sunderland ministry,[15] both rebelled against the government on the Peerage Bill in December 1719.[16] Perhaps they were influenced by the convincing (and ultimately successful) campaign waged against the bill, in which Walpole had warned that if the bill became law it would make it harder for aspirational MPs and their families to become

[12] Henceforth, Byng shall be referred to by his surname rather than his title to avoid confusion with the Earl of Torrington.
[13] At the beginning of the century, seniority and promotion remained quite chaotic, see Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, pp. 203-204. However, particularly in the years following the end of the War of Spanish Succession, seniority grew in importance, see Baugh, *British Naval Administration in the Age of Walpole*, pp. 127-138.
[14] *Letters of Sarah Byng Osborn, 1721-1773*, eds. Emily McDonnell and John McClelland (Stanford and London, 1930), pp. 5-6.
[15] For the former's role in implementing George I and Stanhope's Baltic policies, see David Denis Aldridge, *Admiral Sir John Norris and the British Naval Expeditions to the Baltic Sea 1715-1727* (Lund, 2009).
[16] 'The Peerage Bill (1719): List of Votes For and Against', in *The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons: Volume 8, 1733-1734* (London, 1742), pp. 345-355, BHO.

peers.[17] Certainly, as early as 26 March 1719 the 2nd Earl of Stair, a supporter of the bill, had dismissed (and therefore acknowledged the existence of) the fear that 'ye Commons have a worse chance for being peers then they hadd formerly'.[18] These fears are reflected in a letter from Norris to Lord Polwarth, the British ambassador to Denmark, on the day of the second reading of the Peerage Bill in the Commons on 8 December 1719: 'What fate it [the bill] will have I cant pretend to give more than I thinck. Myne had bin better to have continewed in tempest of sea till it had bin ouer, for to the fault of my judgment and I fear my fortune I am unable to thinck on it the way that would doe me most good to my private affairs.'[19] Jennings undoubtedly had peerage aspirations as well. In July 1727, he wrote to Walpole hoping that he could be appointed to the honorific post of Rear-Admiral of England, 'till the proper time comes that you can prevail for my being created an English baron'.[20] Whilst Jennings became Rear-Admiral of England on Byng's death in 1733, the barony never materialised and neither he nor Norris ever became peers.

Whilst Jennings seems to have wanted his English barony as a sort of retirement gift (akin to the Irish peerage awarded to Matthew Aylmer back in 1718), rather than as a platform from which to further develop a career in, for example, naval administration, the situation was different for his colleague Admiral Sir Charles Wager. Wager, an ally of Walpole, succeeded Byng as First Lord of the Admiralty in 1733 and held the office until Walpole's fall in 1742. Unlike Wager's predecessors however, his position as head of the Admiralty did not bring with it (or seem to require as a prerequisite) a peerage, much against his expectations. In July 1731, predicting that Byng was unlikely to live much longer, Wager

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[17] Jones, '"Venice Preserv'd; or A Plot Discovered"', p. 103. For a range of letters and pamphlets relating to the Peerage Bill, see *The British Aristocracy and the Peerage Bill of 1719*, ed. John F. Naylor (New York, 1968).
[18] NLS, MS. 3044, no. 67.
[19] *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Polwarth, Preserved at Mertoun House, Berwickshire*, ed. Historical Manuscripts Commission (5 vols., London, 1911-1961), ii., p. 404.
[20] Quoted in Aubrey Newman, 'Jennings, Sir John (1664-1743), of Newsells, in Barkway, Herts.', *HoC 1715-1754*.

began manoeuvres, writing to Walpole that one objection to him succeeding Byng was 'that it is necessary the head should be a lord, (not an Irish lord) for which I may be said not to be qualify'd; but when I look upon many that have been made so, I think I may, without much vanity, look upon myself as well qualify'd as some of them.' Although Wager claimed that he felt that his estate was not suitable to the dignity of a peerage, and that 'I shall be very well content without it', it is evident that he considered it a prerequisite to become First Lord and, on a professional level, 'a man that is an officer does not like to have any body put over his head'.[21]

Despite Wager's claims that he did not care about a peerage in and of itself, he had gone to great lengths to try and discover more about his family history, tracking down a clan of Gloucestershire Wagers in the early 1710s. This was almost certainly motivated by his unusual background. Wager came from a family full of navy connections, but his father (who was a captain in the Commonwealth navy) died before he was born in 1666 and his maternal grandfather, Vice-Admiral William Goodson, had fallen out of favour after the Restoration. His mother had gone on to marry a Quaker merchant and the young Wager was raised in that dissenting community, serving as an apprentice to a Quaker merchant captain.[22] In April 1732, Wager wrote to Samuel Cooper (who had married a Wager) of Charlton Kings near Cheltenham that whilst

> I am now in the 66th year of my age, ambition is worn out, if ever I had any, and my Inclination has been for many years to retire… if it happens otherwise, and I should ever be first Commissioner [of the Admiralty] here (which I assure you I do not desire), I may probably be made a Peer, the first Commissioner being always so, and of the [Privy] Council, for the more easy access to the King on all occasions; and tho' this may never happen, I was willing to be able to say that I was not altogether an Upstart, but descended from an antient family, tho' they never had but a small estate, and my Grandfather's name being John, I think it is likely that he was the John Wager who is mentioned in the Register you were so kind to have search'd.[23]

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[21] Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole*, iii., p. 116.
[22] Daniel A. Baugh, 'Wager, Sir Charles (1666-1743)', *ODNB*.
[23] *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, ed. Beaver H. Blacker and others (10 vols., London, 1881-1914), i., p. 120.

Wager's assertions to Cooper that he had no further political ambitions and did not wish to lead the Admiralty should be treated with a certain degree of scepticism, and he became First Lord the following year (and joined the Privy Council), though a peerage never materialised. This was probably down to practical political reasons. As Daniel A. Baugh argues, Wager was a talented ministerial spokesman in the House of Commons and loyal friend of Walpole's. Therefore, the government would have had little desire to remove Wager from the Commons and install him in the Lords.[24]

Not all senior navy officers necessarily aspired to peerages or peerage promotions, although the evidence for this is often rather obscure. According to D. D. Aldridge, Admiral Edward Russell declined a peerage following his victory at the battle of La Hogue in 1692 'on grounds of insufficient income to support it'.[25] Even when Russell was later ennobled as Earl of Orford in 1697, rumours circulated that he had been hesitant to accept. On the other hand, a relative was careful not to exaggerate his reluctance when she wrote that 'I believe so far, what the town says, that Admiral Russell did not seek title, or to be one of our justices; but I do not like to say, "it was crammed down his throat."'[26] Similar ambiguity can be seen in a character sketch of Orford written after his death which claimed that in the early years of George I's reign he had declined a dukedom 'because it did not suit with his temper' as well as the Order of the Garter 'because he said it did not suit his age to take it.' The courtier Peter Wentworth also claimed that Orford had refused the offer of the Garter in October 1714.[27] Orford formed part of a powerful group of leading Whigs known as the Whig Junto, served as First Lord of the Admiralty 1694-1699, 1709-1710, and 1714-1717, and was in N. A. M. Rodger's words, 'the outstanding example of a political admiral'. Thus, any

[24] Baugh, 'Wager, Sir Charles (1666-1743)', *ODNB*.
[25] David Denis Aldridge, 'Russell, Edward, Earl of Orford (1652-1727)', *ODNB*.
[26] J. H. Wiffen, *Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell; From the Time of the Norman Conquest* (2 vols., London, 1833), ii., p. 323; *HoL 1660-1715*, iv., p. 231.
[27] Anthony Hammond, 'The Elogium and Character of the Late Lord Edward Russel, Earl of Orford, Viscount Barfleur, and Baron of Shingey, &c.', *The Present State of the Republick of Letters*, vol. 6 (October 1730), p. 258; *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 431.

ambivalence he may have had towards honours or titles should not be misconstrued as an aversion to engaging with the political scene.[28]

In contrast to Orford, Admiral Sir John Leake actively tried to stay detached from party politics.[29] Leake followed the court and was described as both Whig and Tory by different sources at various intervals (although his true politics seem to have inclined to the latter). When Orford returned as First Lord of the Admiralty in the autumn of 1709, Leake was included in his commission as the second most senior member. Upon Orford's resignation in October 1710, Leake was named first in the new commission though he refused to take up leadership of the board and tried to remain at sea as much as possible. Eventually, the Earl of Strafford was appointed First Lord in September 1712.[30] In light of Leake's reluctance to become further entangled in Admiralty politics, it is unsurprising that, according to his eighteenth-century biographer, he declined a peerage in 1711. When the ministers tried to persuade Leake to assume the leadership of the Admiralty Board, 'the Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord President of the Council, proposed to him, that he should be created a Peer for that Purpose, as his eminent Services well deserved.' Leake however allegedly responded that his fortune was insufficient to support a peerage, his spendthrift son was unlikely to produce an heir, and that he himself had no ambition beyond his current rank of admiral.[31] Declining a peerage was unusual but not unheard of – for example, the wealthy gentleman Sir Michael Warton declined a peerage offered by the Earl of Oxford in 1711.[32] Whilst his biographer highlighted this episode as an example of Leake's supposedly

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[28] Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, p. 202.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[30] Stuart Handley, 'Leake, Sir John (1656-1720), of Mile End, Stepney, Mdx. And Beddington, Surr.', *HoC 1690-1715*; 'Lord High Admiral and Commissioners of the Admiralty 1660-1870', in J. C. Sainty (ed.), *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 4, Admiralty Officials 1660-1870* (London, 1975), pp. 18-31, BHO.
[31] Stephen Martin-Leake, *The Life of Sir John Leake, Knt. Admiral of the Fleet, &c.* (London, 1750), p. 425.
[32] Jones, '"Venice Preserv'd; or A Plot Discovered"', p. 88.

impeccable virtuousness,[33] it was Leake's aversion to the political responsibility that a peerage and the position of First Lord would bring that must have made such a proposition unappealing. In this sense Leake was unsuccessful. Although he had refused to act as the Tories' First Lord, his association with Oxford's government was strong enough to terminate his navy career after the Hanoverian Succession and return of the Whigs to government.

II.

As the example of Leake suggests, not all admirals, even those in Parliament, involved themselves in political affairs too deeply. For instance, Admiral Nicholas Haddock (1686-1746) spent a significant amount of his time as MP for Rochester between 1734 and 1746 on active sea service and is not recorded as ever voting.[34] This was not exceptional, Evan Wilson noting of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries that 'naval MPs were not known for their participation or even their attendance: most supported the government to avoid damaging their career prospects.'[35] N. A. M. Rodger makes a similar point about the period from c. 1740 to 1775.[36] Consequently, Haddock's absenteeism did not stop his friends and relations taking a great interest in securing his re-election in the run-up to the 1741 election. This is evidenced in the correspondence forwarded to Haddock by the mayor of Rochester, George Gordon, who warmly supported Haddock's candidacy and saw the election of both him and Vice-Admiral Edward Vernon (1684-1757), 'both being Principal Officers of the Navy', as vital to Rochester's welfare and the naval interest. As Haddock's brother Richard, comptroller of the navy, wrote to Gordon on 3 November 1740: 'I am extremely obliged to you for the Friendship you express for my Brother who I am sure will always retain a gratefull sense of it. I cannot think of giving you the trouble of Managing the

[33] Martin-Leake, *The Life of Sir John Leake*, p. 461.
[34] Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Haddock, Nicholas (1686-1746), of Wrotham Place, Kent', *HoC 1715-1754*.
[35] Wilson, 'The Sea Officers: Gentility and Professionalism in the Royal Navy', p. 282.
[36] Rodger, *The Wooden World*, p. 329.

Entertainment, that it may be necessary to make on this Occasion, but from the hint you have given me, I have desired my good Friend Mr Mathews [Thomas Mathews, commissioner at the adjacent Chatham dockyard] to undertake it.'[37]

In short, being away on a foreign station did not sever navy officers from Britain's domestic political scene and their interests in it, and it is evident that politics more generally played an important role in many senior officers' professional lives at sea. For example, whilst it was common and perfectly permissible for navy officers to augment their income through the transportation of merchants' bullion (known as 'freight money'), for which they would usually be entitled to 1 or 2 per cent, profiteering from the transportation of goods and people was frowned upon and multiple acts of Parliament in the late seventeenth-century sought to prevent it.[38] Whilst there is no evidence that he sought to profit from it, Sir John Jennings can be found during his time as commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean at the close of the War of Spanish Succession helping to transport goods for important persons. For example, on 12 May 1712 Jennings wrote to Marlborough, by that point deprived of his offices but not yet in exile, from (fittingly enough) the *Blenheim* that he 'shall with pleasure yield a ready obedience to yor Comands, & take particular care to send your Statues [probably the bronze statues for Blenheim commissioned from the Florentine sculptor Massimiliano Soldani a couple of years earlier] in the first Men of Warr bound home'. Jennings sent a subsequent letter a few weeks later: 'Capt Sapsford, when he waites upon your Grace with this will have the honour to acquaint you with the safe arrivall, I hope, of your Statues, & to receive your Comands about the landing of them. I don't know any body, my Lord, under whose care I could have promised them more security; & if any

[37] BL, Egerton MS 2529, fols. 37-42. Haddock and Vernon were duly elected, although the latter chose to sit for Ipswich. For Thomas Mathews at Chatham, see Luff, 'Mathews v. Lestock', pp. 54-55.
[38] Baugh, *British Naval Administration in the Age of Walpole*, pp. 111-112.

accident should unfortunately happen to them, your Grace's disappointment could not possibly be greater than my concern.'[39]

Although Jennings was a Whig who had recently lost his parliamentary seat, he also provided similar duties to well-known Tories. Certainly, in September 1713 Jennings wrote from Villefranche in the Duchy of Savoy to George Clarke (1661-1736), a Tory junior Admiralty lord and Fellow of All Souls College Oxford, 'that your last block of Marble of about 8 Tun w^{t} went home in the Three Pillgrims transport under Convoy of the Mary; I shall be very proud to receive your further Comands as to what more marble you'l please to have sent, or any thing else this Countrey affords'. This was presumably the marble that Clarke was importing from Genoa at this time for the college chapel at All Souls.[40] It is plausible that Jennings was offering his services not only as a common courtesy, but also to try and build a good relationship with the new Tory administration. Jennings's letters to the Earl of Strafford in July and November 1712 which relate to the transportation of clothing for Strafford's dragoon regiment display a great eagerness to be helpful (Strafford served as First Lord of the Admiralty from September 1712 to October 1714).[41] A similar ingratiating tone is present in a November 1712 letter to Lord Bolingbroke.[42] If this was a conscious strategy by Jennings, it does not appear to have resulted in great dividends. For example, in February 1714, a couple of months after Jennings returned to England, he attempted but failed to persuade the Admiralty commissioners to authorise the granting of some extra pay that he felt he was entitled to, writing bitterly to Admiralty secretary Josiah Burchett that 'I must own I'me

[39] BL, Add MS 42839 (Rose papers), fols. 18, 22. For Soldani's statues, see Vanbrugh, *Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, iv., pp. 38-40; Churchill, *The Letters and Dispatches of John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough*, iv., p. 680; Charles Avery, 'The Duke of Marlborough as a Collector and Patron of Sculpture', in Edward Chaney (ed.), *The Evolution of English Collecting: The Reception of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (New Haven and London, 2003), pp. 443-451.
[40] BL, Add MS 42839, fol. 107; A. A. Hanham, 'Clarke, George (1661-1736), of All Souls, Oxford', *HoC 1690-1715*.
[41] BL, Add MS 31137, fols. 3, 252.
[42] BL, Add MS 42839, fol. 40.

disappointed by your Letter of yesterday's date since what I wrote to you with respect to extra pay must, it seems pass by in silence'.[43] Jennings also became embroiled in a dispute with the Tory-dominated Admiralty over the clearing of his expenses, despite Bolingbroke duly presenting his case to the Queen after Jennings petitioned him, complaining on 21 September that 'I could scarcely have imagined that my Faithfull Services abroad would have given me so little merit with their Lordsps [the lords of the Admiralty]'.[44] Rather than his own personal lobbying efforts, it was greater political change that reversed Jennings's misfortune. When a new Admiralty commission was formed on 14 October 1714 following the Hanoverian Succession, Strafford was replaced as First Lord by the Whig Junto member and Jennings's patron the Earl of Orford. Tory commissioners such as George Clarke and Admiral Sir James Wishart were also replaced with Whigs such as Sir George Byng and Jennings himself.[45]

Like Jennings's earlier interactions with Tories such as George Clarke, a similar sycophantic approach can be seen in his colleague Byng's dealings with George, Prince of Wales during George I's absence in Hanover in 1716. As Byng wrote to Admiralty secretary Josiah Burchett on 23 September 1716, he had been busy co-ordinating various ship fittings and movements on behalf of the Prince and had paid little attention to usual naval protocol. Byng conceded that 'I know all that I have done is very irregular, but believe His Royal Highness will so far approve of my intention for his service as to pardon what is amiss, and give sanction to what has been done by me if it shall require it.' The editor of Byng's papers has argued that the ship manoeuvres Byng was making such an effort to organise were probably unimportant and though 'Byng had been summoned specially to be the Prince's instrument, and had no choice but to obey… the tone of unctuous bustle conveyed by the

[43] *Ibid.*, fols. 117-118.
[44] *Ibid.*, fols. 121-124.
[45] 'Lord High Admiral and Commissioners of the Admiralty 1660-1870', pp. 18-31, BHO.

letter certainly suggests a greater anxiety to please the Heir Apparent than was strictly necessary under existing conditions.'[46] In the long term this kind of approach had dividends. At the beginning of George II's reign in 1727, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the 3rd Earl of Berkeley, was dismissed due to his poor relationship with Walpole, his friendship with Bolingbroke, and also perhaps because of a rumour that suggested Berkeley had once been involved in a plot to deport the Prince of Wales during George I's reign. Berkeley was replaced by Byng, by then ennobled as Viscount Torrington, with Lord Hervey claiming that 'as there had always been a jealousy, and no very cordial friendship, between him and Lord Berkeley, I believe Lord Torrington was pitched upon for this post not so much from desiring to show him favour as to embitter Lord Berkeley's disgrace.'[47] Nevertheless, the courting of the future George II that Byng had done in the previous decade can only have helped to make him a suitable replacement.

Just like the army, which became particularly politicised during the latter half of Anne's reign and the beginning of George I's,[48] divisions ran down political lines in the navy too. Whilst there had long been factional splits in the navy, division based on political affiliation was a more recent development that could be traced back to the latter part of the seventeenth century. J. D. Davies notes that, though there were few naval MPs in the Restoration years and that there is little evidence of a Whig/Tory divide in the navy during the 1679-1681 Exclusion Crisis, 'the seeds were already sown for the identification of naval faction with political affiliation, an identification which was to exert considerable influence on the nature of the officer corps in the next century.'[49] For example, during the War of

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[46] *The Byng Papers: Selected from the Letters and Papers of Admiral Sir George Byng, First Viscount Torrington, and of his Son, Admiral the Hon. John Byng*, ed. Brian Tunstall (3 vols., London, 1930-1932), iii., pp. 221-224.
[47] Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, i., pp. 37-39, iii., p. 849.
[48] Smith, 'The Hanoverian Succession and the Politicisation of the British Army', pp. 207-226.
[49] Davies, *Gentlemen and Tarpaulins*, p. 229. For politics and the navy c. 1740-1775, see Rodger, *The Wooden World*, pp. 328-343.

Spanish Succession party conflict in the navy was particularly aggravated by the dominance of Marlborough's Tory brother Admiral George Churchill (1654-1710) at the Admiralty whilst Prince George of Denmark was Lord High Admiral (1702-1708). Churchill was no friend of Whig officers such as Byng and Norris, the former of which particularly resented Churchill for his failure to be promoted to rear-admiral when Prince George became Lord High Admiral in 1702.[50] In December 1707, Byng complained to Godolphin that he continued to be persecuted by Churchill who was manipulating promotions in order 'to keep myself and other officers from rising in Her Majesty's service'.[51]

Although Byng was raised to the rank of Admiral of the Blue the following January, the tension continued and on 23 April 1708 Godolphin wrote to Marlborough that

> Sir George Bing is come to town, but has not yet had that countenance shown him, which either his past diligence, or the hopes of his future behaviour in this summer's service, might naturally lead him to expect. Those who have the most creditt with Mr. Morley [Prince George], doe him all the ill offices imaginable, Mr. Montgomery [Godolphin] has taken some pains to change this temper, and to reconcile them; but I am not certain what will bee the effect of it. This I am certain of, that if those prejudices can not bee cured, the advices they occasion will ruine the Service, and those that give them.[52]

Godolphin's attempts later that spring to calm the rage of party by inviting Byng and his fellow Whig admiral Sir John Jennings to join Prince George's navy council failed after Byng and Jennings, perhaps out of loyalty to their old Whig patron Orford who was still out in the cold, refused. As an irritated Godolphin remarked to Byng at the end of June, the refusal 'was a wrong step, and may give handle to your prejudice; nobody can ever build a house that won't be contented to lay the foundation of it by degrees'.[53] In this context, it is unsurprising that on 26 June 1708 Byng sighed to his Whig ally the 3rd Earl of Sunderland that

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[50] Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean*, p. 201; J. H. Owen, *War at Sea Under Queen Anne, 1702-1708* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 11.
[51] *Byng Papers*, i., pp. 248-249.
[52] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ii., p. 963.
[53] *Byng Papers*, ii., p. 189.

'I do not Supose any Good is Intended me,' and why neither he nor Sunderland seemed particularly distraught at the news of Prince George's death (and subsequent fall of George Churchill) in October.[54] Indeed, as Sunderland bluntly put it, Prince George's death 'opens an easy way to have everything put upon a right foot, and I do really believe it will be so and that we shall effectively get rid of G. Churchill's dominion.'[55]

However, this ongoing episode in the navy politics of Anne's reign also illustrates how divisions in the navy could run not just across party, but also across personal and professional lines. The death of Prince George eventually saw the Whigs appeased and the return of Orford as First Lord of the Admiralty in November 1709.[56] Byng and Jennings's refusal to join the Prince's navy council back in the spring of 1708 had greatly annoyed the Queen, and the question of whether this Whig political and naval duo would be allowed to serve on Orford's new board was a major issue in the negotiations surrounding Orford's return. Whilst Godolphin said that Anne was 'inflexible upon the 2 knights', the Whigs were keen for both Byng and Jennings to be given positions, and in the end a compromise was struck whereby Byng became a junior Admiralty lord whereas Jennings did not (although he was compensated with a promotion to Admiral of the White).[57] According to Arthur Maynwaring, the disappointed Jennings's 'real anger was against his friend, Sir G. Byng, for it seems there was a secret agreement between them, that neither of them should come into that commission without the other, which Byng broke upon the first opportunity'.[58] Here then it was professional jealously, rather than a party or ideological divide, which split the two followers of Orford.

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[54] BL, Add MS 61588, fols. 55, 103.
[55] *Byng Papers*, ii., p. 318.
[56] For details of this, see Henry L. Snyder, 'Queen Anne Versus the Junto: The Effort to Place Orford at the Head of the Admiralty in 1709', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 4 (August 1972), pp. 323-342; Harris, *The General in Winter*, pp. 284-287.
[57] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, iii., p. 1405. Arthur Maynwaring referred to Byng and Jennings as those 'that everybody would have to be in this commission', see *Private Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, i., p. 194.
[58] *Ibid.*, i., p. 271.

Personal, professional, and political rivalries could outright destroy the careers of some admirals. For example, Sir Stafford Fairborne (1666-1742), who reached the giddy heights of Admiral of the White and Admiral of the Fleet in 1708, had his career destroyed after Orford returned to the Admiralty as First Lord the following year. Although the details are unclear, Orford seems to have had some form of personal or professional grudge against Fairborne and secured the setting aside of the latter's recent promotions, allowing him only his half-pay as a vice-admiral. Despite Marlborough and Godolphin's lobbying on Fairborne's behalf in the summer of 1710, Fairborne's career was over. After losing his parliamentary seat at Rochester in October 1710, he lived the rest of his long life in obscurity.[59] Although he was buried in Westminster Abbey, no gravestone or monument marks his final resting place as with many of his fellow senior navy officers. Fairborne was instead anonymously interned near the monument to his father, Sir Palmes Fairborne, a governor of Tangier killed in the line of duty in 1680.[60]

Political loyalties, whether real or suspected, could also doom careers. Rooke's prodigy, the Scottish Tory Sir James Wishart suffered from long-standing suspicions of Jacobite leanings and the accession of George I saw him dismissed from the Admiralty and entrusted with no more commands after 1715. Undoubtedly, Wishart was closely aligned with senior Tories such as the Earl of Strafford. For instance, at the beginning of 1713 Wishart wrote to Strafford about buying a house adjacent to the Admiralty Office 'which I had some reason to thinke I might be dissappoynted of, But at last the Board unanimously gave me their Consent for it, Mr Johnsons [possibly a relative of Lady Strafford] design of wryteing to yor Excellence was in order to have yor favour if I had mett w^{t} any difficulty, & I Return yor Excellence my hearty thankes for ye Countenance & freindship you have beene

[59] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, i., p. 187, iii., pp. 1545, 1557; Stuart Handley, 'Fairborne, Sir Stafford (1666-1742), of St. Anne's and St. James's, Westminster', *HoC 1690-1715*.
[60] 'Sir Palmes and Stafford Fairborne'. Accessed 6 October 2017 at http://westminster-abbey.org/our-history/people/sir-palmes-fairborne.

pleasd to show me.' Another letter showered compliments on Strafford for his role in negotiating the Peace of Utrecht.[61] Certainly, Strafford and Wishart were considered friendly enough for Wishart to be considered a proxy candidate for Strafford's Order of the Garter installation (Strafford himself being unable to attend the ceremony) in 1713.[62] Wishart also lobbied Strafford on political business. After Sir George Byng, as Master of Trinity House (the maritime corporation and charity with responsibilities over pilotage and lighthouses), dismissed Portsmouth tax collector John Mellish and replaced him with 'a notorious Whig', Wishart, MP for Portsmouth, wrote to Strafford (who had succeeded Byng as Master of Trinity House) in the summer of 1713 to persuade him to restore Mellish to his former position. Strafford obligingly wrote a letter to the Deputy Master in Mellish's favour.[63]

Wishart's politics must have only fuelled doubts about his loyalties which were apparently already suspect on account of his Scottish origins. In January 1705, Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovell (1650-1707) mused that, as the French were apparently planning to send troops from Dunkirk to Scotland, it was 'therefore not thought desirable Sir James Wishart should command the Dunkirk Squadron'.[64] Even Wishart's own patron Rooke concluded that his Scottish origins were potentially problematic. When William Whetstone (d. 1707) was promoted to rear-admiral over Wishart's head at the beginning of 1704, Rooke wrote to Prince George of Denmark to highlight both the injustice done to Wishart, his first captain, and the personal snub to Rooke himself that it implied. Whilst 'possibly Captain Wishart's being a Scotchman, may be a reasonable objection, to some, to his preferment at this time', Rooke countered:

> I think that circumstance should have been set in its proper light, before the Queen and your Royal Highness; for though he be of that country by birth, he is an

[61] BL, Add MS 31138, fols. 28, 110.
[62] *The Wentworth Papers*, p. 314.
[63] BL, Add MS 31138, fols. 211, 268. Byng's reasoning behind dismissing Mellish was his 'failing to vote for Sir Charles Wager and a general "firmness to the Church interest"', see Stuart Handley, 'Byng, Sir George (1663-1733), of Southill, Beds.', *HoC 1690-1715*.
[64] *Byng Papers*, i., p. 65.

> Englishmen by interest, which I take to be the best security her Majesty can have from any of them; for some years since, he sold what he had in Scotland, added to it what he had acquired in the Crown's service, and with his wife's fortune purchased, and now enjoys, a very good estate in Yorkshire.[65]

In other words, Rooke hoped Wishart's land acquisitions in England would diminish any sense of him being an outsider by virtue of his Scottish birth.

Rooke's letters, and the threat of his own resignation, culminated in Wishart being duly promoted to rear-admiral in February. However, Rooke privately complained that Wishart's promotion 'was done in such an awkard manner as if it were with all theire heartes, in spyight of theire teethe's.'[66] It is curious that Wishart's nationality apparently threw his loyalty into such question as it does not seem to have harmed the prospects of the Scottish army officers Argyll (who was admittedly born in England), Orkney, and Stair discussed in chapter five. It may be that Wishart's humbler birth (he was the son of a Presbyterian clergyman) meant he was less trustworthy than these senior army officers from more distinguished families. Certainly, John Macky wrote that Sir David Mitchell (c. 1650-1710), a Scottish admiral of obscure origins, was a knowledgeable and accomplished sailor but would have 'risen faster had he been an *Englishman*', implying that anti-Scots prejudice had slowed him down.[67] Despite his career being dogged by (seemingly unfounded) Jacobite accusations, at least Wishart could console himself with his financial gains, Macky noted that 'He hath had great luck in Prizes, and purchased a good Estate' and when Wishart died in 1723 he left a fortune of £20,000.[68]

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[65] *The Journal of Sir George Rooke, Admiral of the Fleet, 1700-1702*, ed. Oscar Browning (London, 1897), p. 259.
[66] A. M. Broadley, 'The Unpublished Correspondence of Admiral Sir George Rooke, During the Naval Campaign of 1703-5, Both Before and After the Capture of Gibraltar', *History*, 1st series, vol. 2 (1913), p. 61.
[67] Macky, *Memoirs of the Secret Services*, 2nd edn., p. 168.
[68] *Ibid*., p. 175; Paula Watson, 'Wishart, Sir James (1659-1723), of Bedale, Yorks.; Little Chelsea, Mdx; and Leatherhead, Surr.', *HoC 1690-1715*.

Another admiral undone by their political loyalties was Rear-Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker (1666?-1725) who, along with Brigadier-General John 'Jack' Hill, commanded the disastrous 1711 Quebec expedition masterminded by the Tory Secretary of State Henry St John (later 1st Viscount Bolingbroke). The secret expedition was poorly provided for, eight ships were lost on the rocks in the St Lawrence river, and it was ultimately abandoned. Like Hill, Walker suffered no damage to his career in the short-term, briefly serving as commander-in-chief at Jamaica before retiring to his country seat in Huntingdonshire in 1713. However, in 1715 his half-pay was stopped and he was removed from the list of flag officers due to his association with the Tories and the disgraced Bolingbroke in particular who had recently fled to France. Over the next decade, the financially-impaired Walker meandered between England, South Carolina, Germany, and Ireland, published a defence of his actions during the Quebec expedition, and unsuccessfully tried to recover money he felt was owed to him.[69] An acquaintance claimed that in 1725 'The Ministry, at least, seemed to look on him [Walker], with a favourable Eye' and that Walker was well-received in Hanover by the adolescent Prince Frederick,[70] though nothing seems to have come from this and he died in obscurity in Dublin.

III.

The political rise and fall of senior navy officers affected their relationship with their country estates. Some navy officers, like their army counterparts, saw a country seat as a place of retirement after the termination, or apparent termination, of their naval careers. George Byng acquired a small country estate at Southill in Bedfordshire in 1693 after he was obliged to retire from the navy following his refusal to accept the post of first captain from the short-

[69] J. K. Laughton, 'Walker, Sir Hovenden (1666?-1725)', rev. J. D. Davies, *ODNB*. Like Walker, Hill's star also faded after the Hanoverian Succession and he retired in 1715.
[70] Thomas Lediard, *The Naval History of England, In all its Branches; From the Norman Conquest in the Year 1066. To the Conclusion of 1734* (2 vols., London, 1735), ii., p. 855.

lived naval triumvirate of Sir Cloudesley Shovell, Sir Ralph Delaval, and Henry Killigrew.[71] Whilst the collapse of the triumvirate and the return of Byng's navy patron, Admiral Edward Russell of the Whig Junto, later that year meant Byng's retirement was only temporary, he continued to accumulate land and increase the size of his holding at Southill until his death in 1733 — Sir John Habakkuk identifies about twenty-five separate land purchases.[72]

Southill was thus always there as a safety net to which Byng could retire. For example, after the change of ministry in 1710 and amidst rumours that the 3rd Earl of Peterborough was to become the new First Lord of the Admiralty, Byng wrote to his Bedfordshire gentry neighbour at nearby Chicksands, Sir John Osborn, 2nd Baronet (whose son John was married to Byng's daughter Sarah), informing him that he had been to see the Queen and hoped he would be able to quit his place on the Admiralty Board. Byng confessed that 'My desier is Realy to be quiet & retier from all publick buisness (wch will only affect My Children a Little More) for my Self I vow to god Were it Not for there sakes I shoud desier of all things to bee free from all manner of Publick Employ & Never Woud See this Towne More.'[73] In the event Peterborough did not become First Lord and Byng continued to serve on the board. Similarly, after falling foul of the Tories and losing his place at the Admiralty in January 1714, Byng could write to Osborn that

> …Tho I am out of The Admiralty. as I Supose the Prints &c may Informe you, So once againe I am to try what Philosophie I can Muster up. These disapoyntm^ts^ may put me to ye Test. yet I Shall Reap this advantage by it, to Suck in sweet Ayr, Get more out of The Croud of Knaves & fools, & have Leave to Manage My own familie affairs, the Goverm^t^ of wch I think to begin at Lady day. but in a fortnight I think to make you a Visset, Thinking to make a trip to Southill to finish my Extravigence before I Go there to Set up for a sober justice of the Peace.[74]

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[71] *Byng Papers*, i., pp. l-li; *Memoirs Relating to Lord Torrington*, ed. John Knox Laughton (London, 1889), pp. 65-66; John B. Hattendorf, 'Byng, George, First Viscount Torrington (1663-1733)', *ODNB*.
[72] Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System*, p. 460.
[73] BARS, O/185/5 (Osborn of Chicksands).
[74] BARS, O/185/7. Byng requested and was granted leave to go into the country by the Admiralty in March, see *Byng Papers*, iii., p. 72.

As in 1693, Byng's time in the political wilderness was short and after the Hanoverian Succession he returned to the Admiralty that October, putting his plans to become a Justice of the Peace on indefinite hold.

The Tory Sir George Rooke became increasingly disillusioned with navy politics in the early years of the War of Spanish Succession, writing to the Earl of Nottingham in June 1703 that 'I am verie sure I have many reasons to conclude from the usage I have latlie receivd from some of my friends, as well as my Enimies, that my Services are not verie acceptable.'[75] He too often cited his seat at St Lawrence near Canterbury as a place of tranquillity that he could fall back on. For example, at the beginning of 1704 Rooke offered his resignation so that he could 'retire to my poor patrimony, where I may, without interruption, end my days in repose and devotion,' his 'devotion' evidently referring to both God as well as Queen Anne and her consort Prince George, the Lord High Admiral.[76] Rooke was persuaded to stay on and, as he wrote from aboard ship to a friend shortly afterwards, whilst 'I had hopes of getting my libertie and retirmt; I was prevail'd upon to proceede the voyage'.[77] Rooke was able to visit St Lawrence at intervals during his navy career but rarely 'without interruption', writing to Nottingham in February 1703 that he had been busy balancing his own private affairs in Kent with official business at Chatham.[78]

However, whilst Rooke treated Kentish retirement as an apolitical space in his letters, the reality was somewhat different. He wrote to a friend shortly after retiring at the beginning of 1705 that 'I am verie happie in my retirement,' planning 'as soone as possible, [to] acquitt my selfe of my attendance att Courte and parliament'. However, Rooke in fact

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[75] BL, Add MS 29591 (Correspondence and papers of the families of Hatton and Finch), fol. 209. A couple of months later both Marlborough and Godolphin expressed fears about Rooke quitting, see *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, i., p. 240.
[76] *The Journal of Sir George Rooke*, p. 260.
[77] Broadley, 'The Unpublished Correspondence of Admiral Sir George Rooke', p. 61.
[78] BL, Add MS 29591, fol. 191.

stood in the election that spring and continued serving as MP for Portsmouth until 1708.[79] Furthermore, Rooke expressed his dissatisfaction with the Whiggish turn the government was taking. Marlborough noted with concern in July 1706 that he heard 'that Sir George Rook did publiquely refuse to sign the Kentish [loyal] address. If it be trew it is very unbecoming a Privy Councelor.' Consequently, Rooke, along with other Tory opponents of the ministry, was removed from the Privy Council when a meeting of it was called after the Act of Union the following year.[80]

Authors who penned eulogies and other flattering texts about senior navy officers often incorporated references to their estates. For example, Sir John Leake's eighteenth-century biographer Stephen Martin-Leake was the son of Leake's heir Captain Stephen Martin who was married to Leake's sister-in-law and served as his first captain. In light of these personal and professional connections, Martin-Leake's biography published in 1750 (thirty years after Leake's death) unsurprisingly paints Leake in an extremely favourable light and emphasises his forebear's good-humoured modesty in his enforced retirement after the Hanoverian Succession. No longer MP for Rochester (after 1715) or needed at court, 'a Place he had always avoided as much as possible, and now altogether, as he had no Business there,' Leake could instead spend more time at the house at Beddington, Surrey which he had acquired some years previously. He also purchased some land in Greenwich

> where he amused himself with building a little Box, to reside in now and then for a Week or two. But the Prospect of the River and the Navigation, gave him so much Pleasure, that he afterwards enlarged it and spent much of his Time there. These two Houses afforded an agreeable Variety, and at both Places he was visited by Neighbours, without Distinction of Party, being generally esteemed by all, for his open, generous, humane Disposition;[81]

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[79] Broadley, 'The Unpublished Correspondence of Admiral Sir George Rooke', p. 70.
[80] *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ii., pp. 624, 788; Stuart Handley, 'Rooke, Sir George (1650-1709), of St. Lawrence, Canterbury, Kent', *HoC 1690-1715*.
[81] Martin-Leake, *The Life of Sir John Leake*, pp. 455-456. Leake's estate also included land at Oxted, Surrey, and property at Mile End in Stepney, see John B. Hattendorf, 'Leake, Sir John (1656-1720)', *ODNB*.

Martin-Leake used his description of Leake's estates to further expand on his subject's sociable demeanour. Prospective readers would make the link between Leake's wholesome lifestyle at Beddington and Greenwich and some of the other flattering ways in which Martin-Leake described his demeanour. For example, his manner of dress was described as 'neat and plain, never very fine, being as free from Ostentation and Vanity in all Things, as from Pride, which knew him not.'[82]

Links between admirals' virtues and their landed estates can also be found in verse written shortly after their deaths. The political writer William Pittis published a number of pro-Tory and High-Church texts and penned a poem celebrating Sir George Rooke's command at the battle of Málaga in 1704.[83] After Rooke's death in 1709, Pittis composed a funeral poem where Rooke and his 'lov'd Retreat' at St Lawrence is seen as a parallel to Cincinnatus: 'So *Rome*'s Dictator, when his Country's Cries/ Forc'd him from his belov'd Repose to rise,/ After its ancient Safety was restor'd/ By his wise Counsels and advent'rous Sword,/ Back to his *Villa* modestly retir'd,/ And where in Peace he *liv'd*, in Peace *expir'd*.'[84] The fact that this bears a certain similarity to some of the verses on Marlborough discussed in chapter one is unsurprising as Tory writers like Pittis attempted to turn Rooke into an alternative hero to Marlborough.[85]

Again, like Marlborough, this narrative of the humble rural retreat was also applied, however implausibly, to the great Whig Junto aristocrat Edward Russell, 1st Earl of Orford and his country estate at Chippenham in Cambridgeshire. As Anthony Hammond, a former MP and navy commissioner, wrote in *The Present State of the Republick of Letters* in 1730:

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[82] Martin-Leake, *The Life of Sir John Leake*, p. 459.
[83] Philip Carter, 'Pittis, William (1673/4-1724)', *ODNB*; William Pittis, *A Hymn to Neptune; Occasion'd by the Late Glorious Victory Obtain'd in the Height of Malaga by Her Majesty's Royal Navy, Under the Command of Sir George Rooke, Vice-Admiral of England, &c.* (London, 1705 [1704]).
[84] William Pittis, *Nereo. A Funeral-Poem Sacred to the Immortal Memory of Sir George Rooke, Kt. Lately Deceas'd; Some Time Since Vice-Admiral of England, Commander in Chief of Her Majesty's Royal Navy, and One of the Lords of Her Most Honourable Privy-Council, &c.* (London, 1709), p. 16.
[85] Claydon, 'A European General in the English Press', p. 310.

'His Lordship's private life, and his retirement, had all the solid virtues that could improve and adorn it. In a sweet *Villa* of his own forming, he enjoy'd that *Otium cum dignitate* [leisure with dignity], which is the state of a great and a good Man the most to be envy'd.'[86] This was further poeticised by hack writer Robert Samber shortly afterwards who claimed that in retirement Orford spent much time at his '*Villa* sweet,/ Of his own forming, happy Mansion Seat!' and that 'the fam'd *Scipio*, from the World, retir'd,/ So, his last Breath, in rural Calms, expir'd.'[87]

Imbued with timeless references to the classical past and rural simplicity, this sort of language could easily be adapted by these writers for their subjects whether or not it was particularly accurate or sincere. Pittis, who dedicated his funeral poem to Rooke's widow, genuinely seems to have wanted to defend Rooke's career and deplored the lack of appreciation for the admiral's efforts. For instance, he cited how in France army and navy commanders often retained the King's favour even after military defeats. In Britain, by contrast, they 'ev'n *reproach* our Champions for *Success*.'[88] Pittis's reflections on Rooke's ill-treatment would have been influenced by notable moments in Rooke's career such as the 1702 Spanish campaign which had featured a failed attack on Cádiz but culminated in a naval victory at Vigo Bay. The campaign was subject to a hostile inquiry by the Whigs at the end of the year which involved the repeated grilling of Rooke by Orford and his fellow Williamite admiral the Earl of Torrington.[89] In contrast to Pittis and his respect for Rooke, Hammond and Samber were not fervent admirers of Orford and simply published their eulogies to earn a living. Hammond, who was in dire financial straits, had in fact been very critical of Orford in Parliament when the latter was First Lord of the Admiralty back in 1699, and Samber could

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[86] Hammond, 'The Elogium and Character of the Late Lord Edward Russel', p. 258.
[87] Robert Samber, *To the Memory of Edward Russel Late Earl of Orford, from his Character by Anthony Hammond, Esq; An Essay* (London, 1731), p. 11.
[88] Pittis, *Nereo. A Funeral-Poem*, pp. 13-14.
[89] Handley, 'Rooke, Sir George (1650-1709), of St. Lawrence, Canterbury, Kent', *HoC 1690-1715*. The seeds of later parliamentary discord can be found in the campaign's official correspondence, see BL, Add MS 28925 (Official and private correspondence and papers of John Ellis).

turn his pen to virtually anything – from economic history to pornography. Sincere verses such as Pittis's on Rooke gave those like Hammond and Samber a framework with which to superficially commemorate another senior admiral in the hope of just making some money.[90]

IV.

In the absence of surviving evidence, the appearance of many estates belonging to senior navy officers remains unclear. However, the fruits of Sir George Byng's labours at his country estate can be clearly seen in an engraving of Southill published in 1739 in the fourth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (fig. 6.9). The engraving depicts Byng's new mansion house constructed in a classical style in the 1720s, a deer park, geometric forest gardens, a canal, and more.[91] Whilst his daughter Sarah Osborn wrote in 1729 to one of her brothers, who had just returned from France, that Southill was 'not so fine [as] at Versailles', Byng must have ploughed a great deal of money into developing his country seat.[92] Unfortunately for his heirs, the amount Byng spent on the house and gardens did not do anything to help the estate's long-term economic sustainability. This was not quite the same as, for instance, Cadogan's heavy spending at Caversham – unlike him Byng had an eldest son to bequeath his estate to. However, like Cliveden where (as discussed in chapter five) Orkney's family was saddled with a house they could not afford, Southill became a millstone around the neck of Byng's descendants by the end of the century. His grandson John Byng (later 5th Viscount Torrington) wrote in 1793 that:

> My grand-father thus built Southill-House in an open field; and had to plant trees, to dig canals, to make mounts, and to throw away his money in vile taste!... Men do

[90] D. W. Hayton, 'Hammond, Anthony (1668-1738), of Somersham Place, Hunts.; Lidlington, Beds.; Piccadilly and Albemarle Street, Westminster', *HoC 1690-1715*; J. Blom and F. Blom, 'Samber, Robert (bap. 1682, d. c. 1745)', *ODNB*.

[91] Badeslade and Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth*, pl. 84-85. Whilst it is now impossible to determine the engraving's accuracy, certainly the round basin it illustrates at the southern end of the canal survives today.

[92] Osborn, *Letters of Sarah Byng Osborn*, p. 24. Detailed building and gardening accounts of Byng's work do not survive.

> not make fortunes before they are 50 years of age, when they are harrass'd, and worn out; and then should buy a place ready cut, and dry'd:- Now my grandfather admiral, and my uncle admiral [John Byng of Wrotham Park] – would – from folly, and pride, rear places; and they both died ere they were finish'd: Leaving their heirs encumber'd with great houses – and inadequate estates.[93]

In more recent times Habakkuk has noted that, whilst Byng's strategy of acquiring any local farms or other property as they came onto the market produced a very compact estate at Southill, it was relatively modest in size.[94] Contemporary evidence that Byng was working from what was largely an 'open field' can be found in letters to his daughter Sarah Osborn in the mid-1720s. For example, on 14 October 1725 Byng referred to his 'Want of Young Trees' at Southill and asked if he could take some of the Osborns' trees at nearby Chicksands rather than rely on the 'Intollerable' carriage of trees from the London nurseries, adding a week later that 'I belive I Shall hardly be readie to plant this Autum'.[95]

Byng was not alone amongst navy officers in embarking on a building project seemingly too ambitious for his descendants' financial resources. As Captain Francis Blake Delaval remarked in 1724, not long after inheriting his uncle Vice-Admiral George Delaval's unfinished house at Seaton Delaval in Northumberland, 'All the scheme I have about the house at present, is to get it covered, for, as we go on, the expense is by far too great, and will make me very inconvenient.'[96] However, not all navy officers succumbed to the temptations of country house building and the size of their landed estates did not even necessarily correlate to the level of their professional success. For example, Sir Charles Wager made his fortune in May 1708 when his squadron intercepted a Spanish treasure fleet in the West Indies. Following this success, the wealthy Wager lived in comfort but does

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[93] John Byng, *The Torrington Diaries: Containing the Tours Through England and Wales of the Hon. John Byng (Later Fifth Viscount Torrington) Between the Years 1781 and 1794*, ed. C. Bruyn Andrews (4 vols., London, 1934-1938), iii., pp. 318-319; Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, pp. 95, 220.
[94] Habakkuk, *Marriage, Debt, and the Estates System*, pp. 459-460.
[95] BARS, O/185/17; O/185/18.
[96] Quoted in Edward Bateson and others, *A History of Northumberland* (15 vols., Newcastle and London, 1893-1940), ix., pp. 179-180; Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Delaval, Francis (1692-1752), of Ford Castle, Seaton Delaval and Dissington, Northumb., and Doddington, Lincs.', *HoC 1715-1754*.

not appear to have had the urge to purchase or build a large country house. He was content with an estate near West Looe in Cornwall (where he had been a freeman since 1699 and which he represented in Parliament on two occasions), and in 1720 leased 'a stately brick house' called Hollybush in Parson's Green, Fulham.[97] At his house in Parson's Green, Wager conducted Admiralty business and also indulged his interest in exotic horticulture as evidenced by a surviving botanical illustration of the American Bull Bay magnolia he grew there (fig. 6.10).[98]

Why exactly Byng felt the need to build such a sizeable country seat at Southill is not entirely clear, and the answer may lie largely in his grandson's decrying of his 'folly, and pride'. It is true Byng disliked spending any sustained period of time in London which aggravated his asthma,[99] and thus investing as much time as possible in Southill's fresh country air would have been highly desirable. As Byng wrote to his daughter during his October 1725 tree planting project, an old horse at Chicksands 'has my distemp^{r} (Worse of the Too) he Coughs & Wheezes, so as he can hardly breath… You'l think perhaps I have No Work on my hands That I can Spare So Much time to Write to a Lady about horses, Yet assure you I dont Want Employm^{t}.'[100] Furthermore, it is plausible that the desire to become a successful and established county figure with a sizeable country house was fuelled by Byng's background. Byng was the eldest son of an impoverished Kent gentry family. A few years after Byng's birth, his father John emigrated to Ireland to try and repair the family's fortunes, but the endeavour failed miserably. By the time John Byng died in 1683, there was

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[97] Baugh, 'Wager, Sir Charles (1666-1743)', *ODNB*; Paula Watson, 'Wager, Sir Charles (c.1666-1743), of Kilmenath, nr. West Looe, Cornw. and Parson's Green, London', *HoC 1690-1715*. Wager was apparently living at Stanley House, Chelsea when he died in 1743.

[98] 'Bull Bay'. Accessed 20 October 2017 at http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O93310/bull-bay-drawing-ehret-georg-dionysus. Much of Wager's official correspondence was written from the Admiralty Office, but some official letters were written from Parson's Green, see BL, Add MS 19030 (Collection of papers relating to the navy, and particularly to Sir Charles Wager), fols. 147-152, 199-202, 369-370; BL, Add MS 28156 (Papers of Admiral Sir John Norris), fols. 237-291 *passim*.

[99] For example, he cited it as one reason why he did not wish to carry on being a junior Admiralty lord in 1717, see *Byng Papers*, iii., p. 304.

[100] BARS, O/185/19.

practically nothing left of the family estate (which had once included estates at Wrotham and Tonbridge) for George Byng to inherit. Indeed, it was in these straitened circumstances that John Byng had decided to set his fifteen-year-old son on a navy career back in 1678.[101]

Byng may also have been influenced by the precedent of his navy patron, the Earl of Orford, whose estate at Chippenham in Cambridgeshire was a great naval country estate of the period. Orford, whose interest in architecture is indicated by his subscription from the first volume (1715) onwards to Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*,[102] acquired the Chippenham estate from an indebted distant kinsman in 1689. He set about a remodelling programme in the 1690s so that by the 1720s Daniel Defoe could write that 'the Building is very fine, the Avenues Noble, and the Gardens perfectly finished; the Apartments also are rich; and I see nothing wanting but a Family and Heirs, to sustain the Glory and Inheritance of the Illustrious Ancestor, who rais'd it'. No such heirs emerged however and Chippenham was inherited by a niece, probably standing unoccupied for decades after Orford's death and mostly demolished in 1790.[103]

A detailed description of Chippenham in its heyday is provided by the traveller Celia Fiennes who visited in 1698. The house was opulently decorated, Fiennes noting that the hall was

> paved with freestone a squaire of black marble at each corner of the freestone; there are two fine white marble tables veined with blew, its wanscoated with Wallnut tree the pannells and rims round with Mulbery tree that is a lemon coullour and the moldings beyond it round are of a sweete outlandish wood not much differing from Cedar but of a finer graine, the chaires are all the same; its hung with pictures att full proportion of the Royal family,[104]

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[101] Holmes, *Augustan England*, p. 286; *Byng Papers*, i., pp. xiv-xvi; *Memoirs Relating to Lord Torrington*, pp. 1-2.
[102] Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, i., p. 10, ii., p. 8, iii., p. 6. Only a few other navy officers subscribed to Campbell's work. Surprisingly, considering the scale of his project at Southill, Byng was not a subscriber, although his eldest son Pattee appears on the subscribers' list in 1725.
[103] A. F. Wareham, and A. P. M. Wright, 'Chippenham: Manors and Other Estates', in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 10, Cheveley, Flendish, Staine and Staploe Hundreds (North-Eastern Cambridgeshire)* (London, 2002), pp. 374-379, BHO; Defoe, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*, i., p. 117.
[104] Celia Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. Christopher Morris (London, 1947), p. 153.

The quality and grandeur of Orford's furnishings stand out in Fiennes's description – be that the fashionable velvets and damasks, 'the finest carv'd wood in fruitages herbages gemms beasts fowles,' or 'the largest looking-glasses I ever saw', and are evidenced by a surviving carved and gilded baroque mirror frame of Orford's now housed in Cambridge's Fitzwilliam Museum (fig. 6.11).[105] Indeed, 'the great curiosity of this wood carving about the doores chimneys and sconces together with the great looking glass pannells is much talked off and is the finest and most in quantety and numbers thats to be seen any where'. Fiennes was also struck by Chippenham's convenience, noting that the double doors in the common rooms had been lined to reduce noise.[106]

An important reason for all this financial outlay must have been Chippenham's political function. Orford played host there to William III, Anne, and George I, and it was also a place to meet fellow Whig grandees who often held conferences at their country seats. Whilst D. D. Aldridge argues that Chippenham was a relatively unpopular conference venue (Orford was notoriously cantankerous), Godolphin wrote to Marlborough from nearby Newmarket in October 1707 that Orford was hosting the 3rd Earl of Sunderland, and in October 1710 wearily informed the Duchess of Marlborough that 'The company that dined yesterday at 15's [Orford] came from thence last night in very good humour to my house [at Newmarket], and 13 [Somerset] with them, extreamly noysy and nauseous.' To what extent visits to Chippenham from various monarchs were deliberate marks of royal favour as opposed to acts of common courtesy is unclear, but the potential of Orford's expensive art and furnishings to attract and impress them should not be underestimated.[107]

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[105] *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154; Tim Knox, 'Recent Acquisitions (2012-16) at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 158 (December 2016), p. 8.
[106] Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, p. 154.
[107] *HoL 1660-1715*, iv., pp. 233-234, 237, 239-240; Aldridge, 'Russell, Edward, Earl of Orford (1652-1727)', *ODNB*; *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ii., p. 929, iii., p. 1648.

Certainly, Orford's old professional rival Arthur Herbert, 1st Earl of Torrington must have greatly appreciated the potential significance of a royal visit. Once the preeminent Williamite admiral, Torrington was dismissed from the navy following the English defeat at the battle of Beachy Head in 1690. However, in 1696, perhaps as a sign of royal forgiveness, William III granted Torrington Oatlands Park near Weybridge which had previously been confiscated from Torrington's Jacobite elder brother. On 2 January 1700 Narcissus Luttrell noted that 'the king hunted near Hampton Court, and afterwards dined with the earl of Torrington', and, whilst he never held office again, Torrington's name was rumoured on several occasions for vacancies in the fleet and the Admiralty.[108] Whilst Southill for Byng did not play such an important political role as Chippenham did for Orford, it did at least provide him with a political interest in Bedfordshire. For example, he was one of the county's Whigs who the 3rd Duke of Bedford tried to summon to a political meeting at a Tory inn in October 1726 to decide on the candidates for the next election. It was suspected that Bedford wanted two Tories elected and Byng, sensing something amiss in the oddness of the invitation, dispatched his eldest son Pattee (1699-1747, later 2nd Viscount Torrington) to the gathering of peers and gentlemen instead.[109] Pattee ultimately ended up serving as MP for Bedfordshire from 1727 to 1733 thanks to his father's interest in the county.

In addition to building great houses and politicking, both Orford and Byng showed a great interest in estate management. John Macky's comment that Orford 'hath purchased a vast Estate, and knows very well how to improve it' is borne out by the fact that, according to Geoffrey Holmes, Orford was the first peer in this period to demolish a sizeable part of a nearby settlement in order to improve his park (a practice later emulated by other

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[108] *HoL 1660-1715*, iii., pp. 297-300; Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (6 vols., Oxford, 1857), iv., p. 600; John B. Hattendorf, 'Herbert, Arthur, Earl of Torrington (1648-1716)', *ODNB*.
[109] Osborn, *Letters of Sarah Byng Osborn,* pp. 19-21; R. S. Lea, 'Bedfordshire', *HoC 1715-1754*.

landowners such as Walpole at Houghton).[110] Orford was also interested in the running of his Russell kinsmen's estate at Woburn Abbey in Bedfordshire. After visiting Wriothesley Russell, 2nd Duke of Bedford in 1708, Orford wrote to the Duke's mother reporting on Bedford's activities at Woburn and Orford's attempts to advise him on how to best balance managing his debt and completing his building.[111] Similarly, Byng offered his opinions on how the Osborns' Chicksands estate should be run. After his son-in-law's sudden death in 1719, Byng's daughter Sarah was left widowed in her mid-twenties with two infant children. Sarah's father-in-law and the owner of Chicksands, Sir John Osborn, died the following year. It was these circumstances which opened the way to Byng, who had already found himself caught up in the Osborns' financial affairs,[112] becoming more involved in advising Sarah how to run and improve the estate which Byng often used to stay at himself.

For example, in 1725 Byng wrote to Sarah on numerous occasions about an estate near Chicksands belonging to the former Tory MP Sir Pynsent Chernock, 3rd Baronet which was up for sale. Byng encouraged his daughter to at least buy the part of the estate that lay adjacent to Chicksands as 'I Think it is a Right Thought to put out your monie The Way you propose, for Since it is to go to The familie it will be Right to Lay it out in Land, and it woud not be amiss Even to Take up Monie If you Want to make up a sum Rather then Miss a purchase that Lyes Convenient for you.'[113] Even though Byng had his own estate at Southill and an eldest son to pass it on to, the marriage of his daughter Sarah into the neighbouring Osborn family had given him an extended influence in that part of Bedfordshire. Byng

[110] Macky, *Memoirs of the Secret Services*, 2nd edn., p. 77; Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power*, p. 285.
[111] Wiffen, *Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell*, ii., p. 306.
[112] For example, in 1717 Byng was recruited by Sir John Osborn's children to try and encourage their father to sort out his financial affairs before he died, see BARS, O/185/9.
[113] BARS, O/185/13, O/185/16, O/185/17. There does not appear to be any evidence that Sarah bought any part of Chernock's estate.

evidently wanted to try and protect and improve the interests of his daughter and grandson, Sir Danvers Osborn, 3rd Baronet, whose upbringing and education he also cared about.[114]

Of course, whilst some senior admirals like Orford and his protégé Byng made large fortunes and acquired country estates which they ploughed sizeable sums into remodelling, it should be emphasised that reaching the top of the profession by no means guaranteed a fortune on that scale. An element of luck, such as whether profitable prize money opportunities came an officer's way, played a significant role in this.[115] Amongst his examples of successful naval fortune-builders, Geoffrey Holmes cites Sir John Leake as an exception, a navy officer 'whose ill-luck in the matter of prizes throughout the two wars was compounded by enforced early retirement in 1714'.[116] His biographer Martin-Leake deplored the £600 per annum pension Leake was given, considering it a mean reward for his eminent services.[117] To compound Leake's woes, his son Captain Richard Leake (who predeceased him by a few months) was a wastrel who within a few years 'got more by Prizes than his Father did in his whole Life', yet apparently squandered it all and ended up financially dependent on his father.[118] However, it would be wrong to be misled by Martin-Leake's repeated emphasis on his forebear's ill-treatment and modest circumstances. Despite his assertion that 'the Estate he left at his Death, is a Proof, how little he study'd his own Advantage', Leake in fact died leaving an estate worth £25,195.[119] Indeed, there were plenty of other senior officers in this period whose rewards for their services were as mixed (or worse) as Leake's.

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[114] For example, Byng commented in 1725 that 'I think Sr Danverse is Too Young yet for a Govr Such woud be Well Two or Three year hence', see BARS, O/185/17.
[115] J. D. Davies makes the same point when discussing the Restoration Navy, see Davies, *Gentlemen and Tarpaulins*, p. 55.
[116] Holmes, *Augustan England*, p. 284.
[117] Martin-Leake, *The Life of Sir John Leake*, pp. 451-454.
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 456.
[119] *Ibid.*, p. 461; Hattendorf, 'Leake, Sir John (1656-1720)', *ODNB*.

For example, whilst Sir George Rooke made good money during the Nine Years' War,[120] his financial gains during the War of Spanish Succession were slight. In March 1704, Rooke's last year of sea service, he complained to a friend that, having escorted Archduke Charles to Lisbon, a 'Diamond Sword' that he thought he was to receive from the Habsburgs had not materialised. Instead, 'they have fob'd me of, wth one sett wth smale diamonds, and a buckle and cocke for a hatt, wch if they were all well sold might produce 250 or 260 £'. Likewise, Rooke had been disappointed by the English government after a collection of plate that he felt was his perquisite as admiral of the escort had not been awarded to him. In short, Rooke wrote, 'by this voyage, wch my friends expected would make my fortune, I am more then 1000£ out of pockett.'[121] In a similar vein, some navy officers saw their careers end on a high, but they had to get through decades of relatively unrewarding (particularly in peacetime) work to get there. By the time he was killed in his seventies in a shipwreck in 1744, Admiral Sir John Balchen had been knighted, appointed Governor of Greenwich Hospital, and captured six valuable merchant ships as prizes. However, all these boons came in the last few months of a long career in which, despite able service, he had failed to make a great fortune. As he lamented from Plymouth to his friend Rear-Admiral Nicholas Haddock in June 1741, 'I wish you Success in all your undertakeing [in the Mediterranean] but we have Nobody spoke of Now but Mr Virnon [Vice-Admiral Edward Vernon] he has all the Glorry, and Success pirsues him the West Indie people will be so Rich There wont be Roome for them to purchase Lands whilst I am force^{d} to Drudge from place to place for Nothing'.[122]

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Just like army officers, some senior navy officers commemorated or referenced their careers in the houses they acquired, even if this only formed one minor element of a particular

[120] Holmes, *Augustan England*, p. 279.
[121] Broadley, 'The Unpublished Correspondence of Admiral Sir George Rooke', p. 62.
[122] Daniel A. Baugh, 'Balchen, Sir John (1670-1744)', *ODNB*; BL, Egerton MS 2529, fol. 220.

estate. For example, the *Vitruvius Britannicus* engraving of Byng's Southill includes a model rigged warship in the middle of an octagonal pond in the gardens and a trident-wielding statue in a round basin closer to the house.[123] Certainly, naumachia (mock naval battles) and the sailing of scaled-down model ships in lakes and ponds were not an uncommon sight in eighteenth-century parks,[124] so the ship's presence in this engraving should not be dismissed as a mere aesthetic embellishment on the behalf of the artist. Paintings could also be used to commemorate past exploits. Celia Fiennes noted that Orford's Chippenham celebrated his most famous naval victory: 'the staircase is wanscoated, very noble fine pictures, there is the battle at La Hogue [1692] a large sea piece with an inscription of the Admiralls valour when the great ship the Gunn was burnt, mightily valued by the French King.'[125]

Navy officers could equally decorate their houses with the interesting fabrics and furniture they acquired abroad. As Sir John Jennings, commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, made sure to note in a letter to George Henshaw, the British Consul at Genoa, in September 1713: 'You must not forgett my Green Velvet, & the Orange Colour'd Silk I desired for the lining of a Bedd; I should very unwillingly go without them.'[126] Architects could also put a naval twist on a design for a man of the sea. At Seaton Delaval, George Delaval consulted Sir John Vanbrugh in 1718 about the existing house he had purchased from a financially-troubled kinsman and the decision was taken to rebuild it. Referencing Delaval's martial career, Seaton Delaval (completed 1728) features military and naval decoration such as carrousel shields with tridents and anchors being carved onto the metopes of the north façade, and the traditional architectural motif of egg and dart

[123] Badeslade and Rocque, *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth*, pl. 84-85.
[124] Patrick Eyres, 'Georgian Naumachias: Parkland Celebrations of British Naval Supremacy', *Trafalgar Chronicle*, no. 16 (2006), pp. 113-129.
[125] Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, p. 154. Orford may have also named a farm after the battle, see Ehrman, *The Navy in the War of William III*, p. 399.
[126] BL, Add MS 42839, fol. 101.

mouldings being adapted so that the eggs resembled sea shells.[127] In this sense, Vanbrugh can be seen to be deploying a nautical adaptation of the martial imagery he had previously used at Blenheim. Similarly, the decoration of Orford's surviving baroque mirror frame includes shells and other marine elements which suggests that other (now lost) furnishings at Chippenham may have exhibited the same imagery.[128] However, as discussed in chapter five, some supposedly commemorative elements should be treated with more caution. For example, two lines of lime trees at Chippenham have traditionally been claimed to have been laid out by Orford to represent the fleets at the battle of La Hogue and were trained as they grew to suggest ships' bows and masts. However, Chippenham's entry in the *National Heritage List for England* argues that these trees 'in fact appear to define the limits of Lord Orford's park and may simply be the remains of boundary trees'.[129]

Was there much in the way of aesthetic interplay between different navy officers and their houses? This is very difficult to determine as evidence is extremely scarce. Presumably officers who struck up friendships (or at least good professional relationships) would visit each other if convenient. For example, during a season at Bath in the early 1710s, Sir Charles Wager stayed with his fellow admiral the 3rd Earl of Berkeley for a few days at Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire.[130] By the early nineteenth-century, there were a pair of portraits hanging in Seaton Delaval's mahogany parlour depicting 'Admiral George Delaval, and his friend Sir John Jennings'.[131] Whilst the decision to hang the pictures there was probably made by a successor of Delaval, who died from a fall from his horse in 1723 before

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[127] Hart, *Storyteller in Stone*, pp. 157-169; Legard, 'Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace, and the Meanings of Baroque Architecture', i., p. 124.
[128] Knox, 'Recent Acquisitions (2012-16) at the Fitzwilliam Museum', p. 8.
[129] 'Historic England, Chippenham Hall'. Accessed 9 October 2017 at https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000615; Wareham and Wright, 'Chippenham: Manors and Other Estates', pp. 374-379, BHO.
[130] *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, i., p. 119.
[131] J. Hodgson and F. C. Laird, *The Beauties of England and Wales. Northumberland* (London, 1813), p. 93.

the house was finished, it is plausible that it was he who originally conceived portraits as a pair as his and Jennings's friendship is well-attested. On 2 August 1708, when Delaval was serving as British envoy to Morocco but had been confined by the Moroccan authorities following a misunderstanding, Jennings wrote to Thomas Hopkins, an undersecretary of state, 'upon the Acc^{t} of (my Nearest and Dearest Friend) Geo Dellaval, who I am in much paine for, and cannot rest Satisfy'd till I here it from yo^{re} Selfe, what course will be taken Towards his Redemtion I cannot helpe calling it so, Since his Presant Confinem^{t} is beyond all Example that Ever was hard off'. Jennings begged that 'Something… may be don, for I believe him in ye utmost dispaire by all the lett^{rs} I have receved from him'.[132] With this in mind, it is not surprising that Delaval would wish to commemorate his and Jennings's friendship through portraiture.

Overall, whilst of course there were numerous important differences between the navy and the army (such as the existence of the lieutenant's exam and the prohibition of the selling of commissions) and this chapter is by no means suggesting that the two professions were much the same, this does not detract from the key point which emerges from this study. Once they had reached the higher echelons of the navy hierarchy, senior navy officers found themselves engaging with many of the same socio-political activities as their army counterparts as seen in previous chapters. This might involve the acquisition of estates and perhaps ensuring some form of commemoration of their careers through them. Similarly, they might pursue their political aspirations and manoeuvre to attain high office or a peerage. Likewise, just as the army became extremely politicised at intervals in this period, so too did the navy, affecting the rise and fall of many admirals not only in their professional lives at sea but also back home in, for instance, their parliamentary careers.

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[132] Nicholas Tindal, *The History of England, by Mr. Rapin de Thoyras. Continued from the Revolution to the Accession of King George II. Volume IV* (London, 1745), pp. 102-103; BL, Add MS 64928 (Hopkins papers), fol. 75. Delaval was envoy to Morocco on two occasions in the first decade of the century, and then served as envoy to Portugal 1710-1714.

On the other hand, looking at the careers of senior navy officers after their days of active service had come to an end, it does appear that they were pigeonholed in a way that some of those who served in the army during this period were not. Whilst, for instance, admirals such as Orford and Wager went on to have highly important political careers, these took place in the Admiralty rather than in another ministerial or court position unrelated to the navy. In contrast, to name just a few men of the army, Stanhope's political prominence in the first half of George I's reign saw him serving in the Treasury and as a Secretary of State, and Strafford's importance in the latter part of Anne's reign derived from his diplomatic achievements rather than military ones. Even Cadogan, the *de facto* commander-in-chief of the army during Marlborough's final years, was kept busy with a number of prestigious diplomatic assignments and served as George I's Master of the Robes. The explanation for this is unlikely to be institutional. Whilst it is true that the army's central administrative structure was relatively undeveloped and that there were few specifically army-related offices that were distinguished enough for a senior army figure with an eye on frontline politics to aspire to,[133] the same could be said of the navy. Many of the positions on the Admiralty Board (and sometimes the First Lordship itself) were often held by 'land-lubbers' rather than navy officers.

Instead, it is more likely that senior navy officers were viewed by the wider social elite as professional men of the sea who, when it came to finding high-profile roles for them in government, were usually only suited to naval positions. In contrast, senior army officers were less typified by their previous service, and more easily able to occupy other important roles. Of course, several navy officers such as George Delaval did serve as envoys and plenipotentiaries to European and North African courts at intervals, and Byng's aspiration in

[133] The offices of Captain-General and Master-General of the Ordnance would fulfil this criterion, but both were occupied by Marlborough for most of the period between 1702 and 1722, and the former became dormant after his death, not being revived until 1745 when the Duke of Cumberland was awarded it.

January 1714 to retire to Southill and become a Justice of the Peace has already been referred to. Even at the highest levels of court appointments there are exceptions – for instance, the 3rd Earl of Berkeley was not only First Lord of the Admiralty under George I but also one of his Gentlemen of the Bedchamber. Overall however, senior army officers, infused with the army officer corps' historic association with chivalry and its consequent embodiment of martial aristocratic culture,[134] seem to have appeared better-equipped to become high-ranking courtiers or illustrious ambassadors at foreign courts than their navy counterparts. Compared to service at sea, service on land may very well have provided military men with more opportunities to interact with European officers and communities, as well as develop their foreign language skills and cosmopolitan courtly manners. Whereas naval diplomacy frequently rotated around the niceties of the salutes ships gave to each other and to foreign ports,[135] an army career possibly offered broader and hence more useful diplomatic training, but this would require further investigation.

[134] Alan J. Guy, 'The Army of the Georges 1714-1783' in David G. Chandler and Ian Beckett (eds.), *The Oxford History of the British Army*, new edn. (Oxford, 2003), p. 105.
[135] Davies, *Gentlemen and Tarpaulins*, pp. 63-64.



Figure 6.1 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Edward Russell, 1st Earl of Orford*, c. 1710.



Figure 6.2 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Sir George Byng (later 1st Viscount Torrington)*, 1707-1709.



Figure 6.3 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Sir John Norris*, 1711.



Figure 6.4 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Sir Charles Wager*, 1710.



Figure 6.5 Michael Dahl, *Sir John Leake*, c. 1710.



Figure 6.6 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Sir John Jennings*, 1708-1709.



Figure 6.7 Michael Dahl, *Sir George Rooke*, c. 1706.



Figure 6.8 Sir Godfrey Kneller, *James Berkeley, 3rd Earl of Berkeley*, c. 1710.

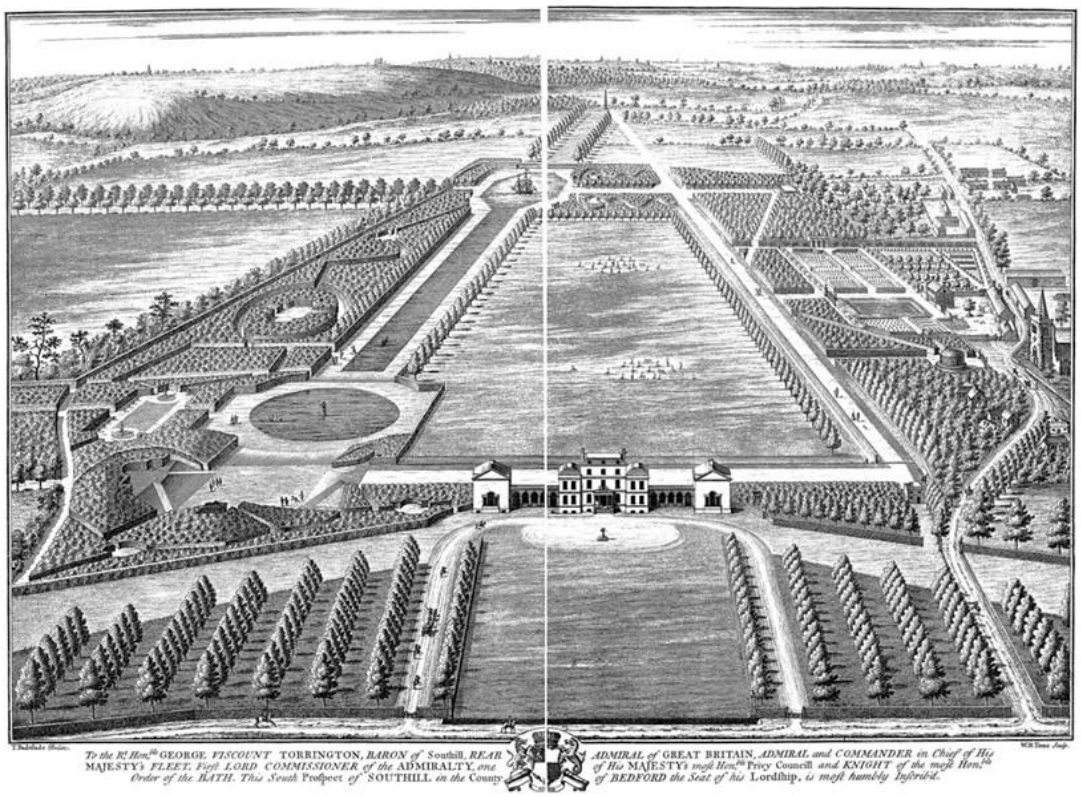

Figure 6.9 Thomas Badeslade, *To the R^t Honble George Viscount Torrington… This South Prospect of Southill in the County of Bedford the Seat of his Lordship, is most humbly Inscrib'd*, in *Vitruvius Britannicus, Volume the Fourth* (London, 1739), pl. 84-85.



Figure 6.10 Georg Dionysius Ehret, *Bull Bay*, 1743.



Figure 6.11 Unknown craftsman, *Admiral Russell's Frame*, 1693-1697.

Conclusion

Today, few contemporary senior military officers enter the public consciousness. Presumably only a tiny fraction of the British population could name the current Chief of the Defence Staff. However, in the first half of the eighteenth century senior officers were prominent figures in political and landed society. The senior military officers presented as case studies in this thesis experienced a variety of life trajectories but have been analysed through a framework of common themes. These include the acquisition and development of their country estates, their engagement with architectural and artistic patronage, and their appetite for peerages and important political offices. Together, they reveal the richness of the ways in which generals and admirals interacted with and integrated into elite society in late Stuart and early Georgian Britain. Variables such as the rise and fall of parties and factions of course affected officers both during their careers in the army and navy as well as afterwards, so that some of them were patently more 'successful' than others, but this was no different to the fluctuating fortunes of other members of elite society.

This thesis has greatly added to the understanding of senior military officers, their estates, and the wider historiography. Primarily, it has emphasised the importance of country estates for senior military officers and their usefulness as a medium for exploring different aspects of political, social, cultural, and architectural history in this period. Whether in war or peacetime, officers' country estates preyed heavily on their minds. Even in the middle of the 1708 campaign during the War of Spanish Succession, the Earl of Orkney could not help but think of his ongoing project at Cliveden when he mused on the burning of villages in Picardy by the allies: 'they tell me they burnt a very fine House that was not yet finished and that the Staircase was very fine this realy vexes me to think that such things can be done I who am a building.'[1] Although, as outlined in the introduction, historians of

[1] NLS, MS. 1033, fol. 47.

London and provincial towns have been right to highlight the importance of urban and metropolitan environments in this period, the possession of a country estate remained of great significance for many senior military officers and this interest is reflected in how they subsequently interacted with and integrated into elite society.

A constructive method of expanding this research would be to look at the senior military officers of another generation, such as those of the Napoleonic Wars, and compare their experiences with the generation analysed here. Unlike Marlborough, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of Wellington (1769-1852) built no Blenheim Palace, though with funds provided by Parliament in 1814 acquired the country estate of Stratfield Saye in Hampshire which he moved into in 1818. Stratfield Saye was an old house dating from the 1630s that had been remodelled in the eighteenth century. The man who discovered the estate was Wellington's former secretary, the architect Benjamin Dean Wyatt, who remarked to the Duke in 1817 that Stratfield Saye was a promising site but 'The present house is a very bad one, and stands in by no means the best situation.' Wyatt relished the lucrative opportunity of constructing an enormous new palace for Wellington on the scale of Blenheim. Indeed, from the summer of 1814 he had been busy designing a neoclassical edifice which he estimated would cost around £215,000 to build. However, Wyatt's vision never came to fruition. For various reasons, Wellington seems to have been hesitant to start building. John Goodall suggests that one possible political concern could have been Wellington's desire to avoid the same sort of 'embarrassing scandal' that had been created around this time by the profligate Prince Regent's extravagant architectural exploits. It was only in the 1830s that Wellington began to add to and renovate Stratfield Saye in any major way (including the installation of a central heating system), and he hosted Queen Victoria there in 1845.[2]

[2] This information derives from John Goodall, 'A Home for a Hero: Stratfield Saye, Hampshire, Part I: The Seat of the Duke of Wellington', *Country Life*, vol. 209, no. 15 (8 April 2015), pp. 48-56; John Goodall, 'Back to the Future: Stratfield Saye, Hampshire, Part II: The Seat of the Duke of Wellington', *Country Life*, vol. 209, no. 16 (15 April 2015), pp. 58-63.

Rather than his country estate, Wellington's greater architectural and artistic statement was at his London residence of Apsley House, purchased from his older brother in 1817. Wyatt was later employed to remodel and expand Apsley House which Wellington filled with artwork and other ornamental objects, many of which were gifts from grateful European governments. This programme of works included the construction of the Waterloo Gallery, commissioned in 1828, which became the venue for Wellington's annual Waterloo banquets attended by his increasingly aged colleagues and depicted by the artist William Salter in 1836 — the year William IV attended (fig. 7.1). It goes without saying that Wellington's political significance was as great as any of the early eighteenth-century military officers discussed in this thesis, notably during his premiership of 1828-1830.[3] Despite important contextual differences however, Wellington's experience reveals a key similarity with the men examined in this thesis. For senior British military officers, the very act of acquiring estates, engaging with politics, and participating in the social and cultural activities of the landed elite means that this is a story of integration rather than difference.

[3] Norman Gash, 'Wellesley [formerly Wesley], Arthur, First Duke of Wellington (1769-1852)', *ODNB*; 'History of Apsley House'. Accessed 10 March 2018 at http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/apsley-house/history; 'The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House, 18 June 1836'. Accessed 20 September 2018 at https://www.gac.culture.gov.uk/gacdb/search.php?mode=show&id=21057.



Figure 7.1 William Greatbach after William Salter, *The Waterloo Banquet at Apsley House, 18 June 1836*, 1846.

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